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ON THE PALATINE

TO GIACOMO BONI

WHO ALL THE MEMORIES

OF THE ROMAN EPOPEE

STATED WITH GENIAL WORK AND MANY DISCOVERIES

TO THE HEROIC ITALIAN SOLDIERS

WHO IN THE LAST WAR OF REDEMPTION

MADE THE ROMAN LAURELS BLOOM GREEN ONCE MORE

IN THE HOLY NAME OF THEIR COUNTRY

R. DUCCI

ON THE PALATINE

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN

BY

ARNALDO FARNESE



.....
And they made a molten image,
And set it up on high;
And there it stands unto this day
To witness if I lie.

(MACAULAY, *Horatius*, XLV).

R O M E

PRINTING OFFICE OF THE SENATE

DR. G. BARDI, PROPRIETOR

1922

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On one May Sunday, nearly 30 years ago I started, followed by a small group of dear friends in the Printing Office, that set of Archeological historical illustrations regarding the Roman monuments which, after the premature death of Alessandro Capanari, the « Società Generale Operaia Romana » begged me to continue in his name.

Days long gone by, but whose memory still lives in my heart, together with that of the good tempered, smiling figure of our dear much mourned « papa » President Pietro Blasi.

I need not repeat the kind encouragement and advice which I received then and afterwards from illustrious scholars like G. B. de Rossi, whom I knew as the reviser in the printing office of the respected Filippo Cuggiani; from Orazio Marucchi, Giacomo Boni, Domenico Gnoli, and from worthy literary men of such worth as Gio-

vanni Staderini, Umberto Leoni, Filippo Tambroni, Luigi Pasquali, Giuseppe Ripostelli and Romolo Artioli.

So it was that the little handful who by common consent followed me every Sunday, became by degrees a numerous and courteous select public gathering.

Afterwards, from that gathering came my good friends who in April 21-1902 near the wood of the brothers Arvali laid with me the base of the Roman Archeological Association. Of that association presided later on by such worthy men as Pietro Santamaria, Giuseppe Tomassetti, Dante Vaglieri, Ettore Pais; and which to day headed by the clever Filippo Stella Maranca, Alfonso Bartoli e Filippo Tambroni will include in its list the names of many notable workers.

I have been repeatedly requested by the public to put together in a volume a part at least of what I have been expounding in the Sunday conferences. I hesitated at first, but afterwards, I began the work because I had the friendly and efficacious assistance of the Comm. Avv. Giovanni Bardi, - proprietor of the Printing Office of the Senate, - and to whom I here express my lively gratitude.

Here then is the origin of this little work

in which I am taking the PALATINE for what it is - i. e. - the most suggestive theme of all for the deep mythical poetry surrounding it.

I dont at all pretend to compete with the worthy ones who have preceeded me. It would seem more than immodest rather madness.

It is my tribute of affectionate reverence for the illustrious Scientist who honoured me for so long with his friendship; it is a sign of admiration which I give to our soldiers whose valour lately has proved again to be no mere legend that of the ancient Roman legions; lastly it is a souvenir of regard which I offer to all my good and numerous friends.

For these reasons I hope my little work may be favorably received by the cultured public.

And if it should be brought against me that in some topographical questions I differ too much from the opinion formed and held in times past, and that sometimes « I repeat myself », may these reasons hold good. For the first case I hope the documentation brought forward and which seem to me to-day to be in complete accord with the discoveries made by Boni on the Palatine, will defend me. From the second I excuse

myself by saying that it did not seem to me superfluous to recall the readers' attention to those points which I determined to explain clearly.

I am now lastly under the obligation to thank the Illustrious Professors Rodolfo Lanciani, Ettore Pais, Orazio Marucchi, Nicola Turchi, Filippo Tambroni of whose advice and precious works I have not hesitated to avail myself.

My memory flies also to the venerable departed G. B. de Rossi, A. Capannari, G. Tomassetti, D. Vaglieri, D. Gnoli, and D. Cancogni.

Rome, 21 of April 1922.

ROMOLO DUCCI

The references to the Greek and Latin authors, are quoted from the Parisian editions of Firmin-Didot, from the German ones of Teubner, and sometimes from those of Antonelli and Pomba. We must here remark though, that a few second-hand quotations could not be verified as clearly as we should have wished, either because of the shortness of time on the one hand, and on the other because of the premature closing of the Alexandrine Library. I take this opportunity to offer my grateful thanks to the learned assistants who were always most willing to give me any help that lay in their power.

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ORIGIN AND DECADENCE
OF THE CITY
ON THE PALATINE HILL

THE LEGEND OF ROMULUS

ORIGIN AND DECADENCE OF THE CITY

ON THE PALATINE HILL

THE LEGEND OF ROMULUS

... la dea

Roma qui dorme.

Poggiata il capo al Palatino augusto,
tra 'l Celio aperte e l'Aventin le braccia,
per la Capena i forti omeri stende
a l'Appia via.

(CARDUCCI, *Di fronte alle Terme di Caracalla*).

I.

The origins of Rome on the Palatine – Romulus and the heroic-religious legends – Rome and the « Rumon » – The Palatine under the Republic and Empire – Decadence, Middle-Ages, Renaissance – Excavations ordered by Pius the Ninth, Napoleon the Third and the Italian Government.

What were the true origins of Rome? This is the question that every intelligent tourist asks himself at his first arrival among the ruins of the Palatine, the hill

which saw the arising poor cottages of the sacred village which was the cradle of Rome.

School memories are of little or no help to him and he wonders how the Romulean legend has been able to impose itself upon the world. He revolves in his mind the various, elaborate and ingenious hypotheses in which classical antiquity itself was not wanting; he examines the probabilities of each one and in the darkness of the legend he seems to perceive a glimmer of light and truth. This very tiny light is his guide and he notices that all the various hypotheses regarding the beginning of the mother city have the same common origin.

A slow immigration of shepherds from the Latian hills, following through slopes and plains the flow of the water Crabra, reached another nucleus of immigrants, which perhaps, long before had preceded it on the Palatine. Was that immigration the accomplishment of a vow made in a year of misfortune, of a sacred spring, in which new-born children instead of being sacrificed to Mars and Infernal Powers, as soon as

they reached puberty, quitted their native-country to go and find with herds and arms, another country of their choice? Or did sudden and dreadful seismic convulsions of the Latian volcanoes compel those shepherds to reach an abode more secure and meadows more fertile? Perhaps one fact followed the other.

And the Latian shepherds, following the flow of the *aqua Crabra* which guided them from the Alban hills to the foot of Palatine certainly stopped on the hill which, better than the others, would shelter them. The river Anio and Etruscan peasants would have hindered them from reascending the valley of Tiber. If the Latian immigration was not limited, afterwards, to the Palatine, surely it was checked by the Sabines, an eminently agricultural people, who long ago took their place, as it seems, on the Quirinal.

So a pastoral people came into contact with another of valiant countrymen, and shortly their increasing development obliged them, perhaps, to share their trades, industry and rites with the already more civilized Etruscan people.

From these three elements joined together, the little pastoral country town arisen on the Palatine eight or nine centuries, if not more, before the Christian era, grew into active and productive life.

*
* * *

But the legend, the ivy of history, already adorns its modest origin.

Ovid in the fourth volume of the *Fasti*, (vv. 807 sqq.) a political-religious poem, recalls the ceremony that the ancient Latian shepherds are thought to have performed as soon as the sacred limit of the future city was laid down. It was the day sacred to the "Paliliae". In the centre of the area designated as the city of Romulus, a deep ditch was dug, sacred to Ceres and the Manes, the benevolent spirits of departed heroes.

There, as an omen of the future prosperity of the new fatherland some seed brought from the primitive native-country was thrown down, and with earth - also from the country - this ditch was filled up. And like a symbol of the arising Rome and its civilization, an altar flamed upon it.

Mr. Boni, the present director of the excavations on the Palatine, is believed to have found some remains of this ritual ditch called *mundus*, or according to Festus, *Roma quadrata*, behind the apse of the *Augustale solium* in the foundations beneath the peristyle of the *domus Flaviana*. But we must not forget that others, according to Propertius and Festus, recognised the *mundus* in the altar situated before the temple of Apollo, at the inauguration of which assisted the elegant aulic poet Propertius.

The pastoral origins of Rome are also confirmed by religious rites which through so many centuries commemorated its foundation: the *Paliliae* (held on April 21) sacred to Pales, the goddess of shepherds and meadows; Faunus Lupercus, the protector of flocks, whose sacred cavern on the Palatine is recorded, had his rites joined to those of Pales; and from Pales herself many think that the etymology of the name *Palatinus* is derived.

As soon as the little pastoral community took their place on the hill in order to

protect themselves against the inroads of neighbouring peoples, they were obliged to provide themselves with rudimental works of defence which served as a prelude to the classical walls in *opus quadratum* of a later age, the remains of which are still visible around the hill.

Down in the valley, where later on, the monuments of the Forum will arise, the necropolis will develop itself; there, not long ago, inhumating and cremating graves came to sight near the temple of Antoninus and Faustina.

And certainly those ancient progenitors of the Romans did not foresee that upon those graves the *Via Sacra* would extend and over the ashes of the primitive *patres* would pass the sumptuous triumph of the heroic epochs of Rome.

There has been much discussion about the probable origin of the name ROMA. Professor Guidi justly observes that it was Rome which gave the name to Romulus and not Romulus to Rome. In fact, according to Servius, *Rumon* would have been the very ancient antonomastic denomina-

tion of the river Tiber and from *Rumon* the city would have taken its name; and so *Romana* or *Romanula* would have been called the gate of the town looking towards the valley lying beneath, always marshy because of the invading waters of the river.

After a certain time, in the struggles which the shepherds of the Palatine sustained against the neighbouring populations, a chief, more bold and brave than the others, assumed the supremacy of the little colony. This chief was personified in the legendary Romulus, whose name, would signify, antonomastically, the "citizen" the "Roman". We can find some recollections of those struggles in the Livian histories of the first Roman battles, and the union of the Sabine element with the Alban colony of the Palatine is recalled in the alliance made between Romulus and Tatius. From that day the wonderful history of the city began; from that day also the fate of Rome was signed.

Notwithstanding these suppositions, we observe with Mr. Sarti, that *Romulus* might be a diminutive of *Romus*, a primitive name of the mythic founder of the city.

And so, many suppose, according to ancient authors, that a more ancient city with another name, existed before Rome, and its religious and mysterious name was known only by the priests. Somebody supposed that this name had been *Valentia* or, according to others, *Amor*, anagram of *Roma*; which might commemorate, in a certain manner, the erotic adventure of Rhea Sylvia, mother of Romulus and Remus, surprised sleeping and embraced by Mars; and it also explains the symbol of the group of Mars, Venus and Love later represented on the Roman monuments.

After all whatever has been the true origin of Rome, let us venerate "the provident genius of the unknown founder" as Mommsen calls him; and we must not forget either that the most ancient symbol of Rome was a ship; and in a very ancient epoch Rome already had some commercial treaties with Carthage. For this reason somebody imagines that the ancient country-town of the Palatine, thank to its happy position not far from the mouth of the Tiber, became quickly a commercial centre. And for this

reason too, Rome, as soon as confirmed its supremacy on the bordering populations, turned its thoughts to establish a port at the mouth of the Tiber: this was the port of Ostia.

* * *

Most people think that the regal period has been a mere period of adjustment and improvement of the young Roman power. To the Sabine element the Etruscan one was quickly added, and Etruscan are the works of the so called regal period. The union of the three populations, the Latin, the Sabine, and the Etruscan was nearly accomplished when Rome, after having expelled the kings, began to have a republican government. The city is already grown up: the *gens romana* begin their triumphal passage across the centuries and the events which are pursuing hotly.

The *plebs*, - the strength, and then the wonderful creator of the legions - have taken their place on the hills and territories surrounding the sacred Palatine; this is inhabited, by preference, by the *patres*, among

whom Rome choosed its first governors and captains. So, at the end of the republic the most conspicuous personages of the Roman patriciate have their houses on the Palatine.

And on the Palatine Gneus Octavius, consul in the year 589 of Rome, inhabited the house after demolished by Emilius Scaurus in the year 695, who constructed another which became, afterwards, a property of Cecinia Largo. Q. L. Catulus, companion of Marius, the conqueror of the Cymry, inhabited this house and adorned its portico with the spoils of the conquered ennemies. Cicero inhabited, on the Palatine, the house constructed by M. Livius Drusus. A certain Crassus sold it to him at an exorbitant price.

The house of the celebrated orator was not far from that of Catulus and from the other of his ennemy Clodius. It overlooked almost all the town. There lived also on the Palatine Q. Orthensius, S. Catilina, and the famous orator L. Crassus, whose splendid palace was valued at about one million of sesterces. L. Crassus there constructed an atrium adorned with *marmo imezio*. That

being an unusual luxury at those times in Rome, the palace was called by M. Brutus the "Palatine Venus". And finally Octavius, nephew of J. Cæsar, and then emperor with the name of Cæsar Octavianus Augustus lived there. He was born on the Palatine at *Capita Bubula* near the *Curiae Veteres* (Old Curiae).

Octavius, in the beginning, had his residence near the Roman Forum at the *Scalae Anulariae* in a house which already had been a property of the orator Calvus. After the battle of Actium, which gave him over his competitor Antonius the whole supremacy of the Republic, Octavianus lived on the Palatine, in the modest house of Orthenus. The future emperor, as *pontifex maximus*, ought to have had his residence in the *Regia Sacra*, near the house of the Vestals. But he desired to associate, in a certain manner, his name with that of Romulus, the founder of the city and its political fortune; and giving his mind to the project of transforming radically the government of the Republic, skilfully eluded laws and customs.

During his absence from Rome, some faithful friends, by his order, acquired some large spaces of ground bordering the house of Orthensius. According to Ovid, he divided the ground which had acquired, in three shares, the first of which was dedicated to Apollo, the second to Vesta. The third was kept for himself, and upon this last he built his house. On the share dedicated to Apollo arose the temple of this God, flanked by the sumptuous portico mentioned by Propertius; on the other share dedicated to Vesta he erected a new temple to this most ancient protectress of Rome. So this lucky despot without breaking the sacred laws, as *pontifex maximus* lived near the temple of Vesta, and as second founder of the political fortune of Rome to which he was able to give after many years of war, the longed for peace, was believed to have been guided by an inevitable fate, and to have been inspired by the gods he, who was born on the Palatine, the nephew of the great dictator J. Cæsar, in the reforming work, he was going to undertake, of the old, decrepit republican regimen; an audacious

attempt which, on the 15th of March of the year 44 B.C., already costed the life to his immortal uncle.

*
**

As soon as the empire was established, under Augustus, the imposing imperial moles began to arise on the Palatine hill and it was during this transformation that, with others, the old houses of Cicero, Clodius, and Catilina disappeared.

The successors of Augustus and among the first, Caligula, prosecuted the construction of new moles. While Claudius was contented with the sumptuous palaces of his predecessors, Nero erected there his *Domus Transitoria*, which was afterwards destroyed by the burning of the year 64 of the Christian era. But he who excelled in sumptuousness was Domitian, who ordered the architect Rabirius to build him a splendid palace; and the poet Statius (*Eq. max. Domit.*) shows us the equestrian statue of the Emperor watching in the Forum, the edifices of the Palatine quickly rising up again on the ruins of the burning of the year 64.

Thus preexisting edifices, - and almost certainly also a portion of the rebuilt *Domus Neroniana*, - gave place to the new Flavian constructions. Which fact has been made evident by the results of the last excavations, when Domitian's palace was discovered with its foundation, resting almost entirely, upon some remarkable remains of edifices of the best artistic period. But the quiet nature of old Nerva (96-98 A.D.), notwithstanding the beauty and the commodity of the palace of his predecessor, preferred the charming and tranquil Sallustian gardens; and his example was followed, little by little, by others of his successors.

After the *Flavii* the work of the subsequent emperors was limited to some more or less remarkable restorations and transformations of old edifices, excepting Septimius Severus who erected his huge constructions on the side of the Circus Maximus and the Celius. The work of the last despots of the Empire is not remarkable at all. We may recollect the foolish expenses made by Eliogabalus in order to transform and pave with precious marbles some places

Fig. 1.

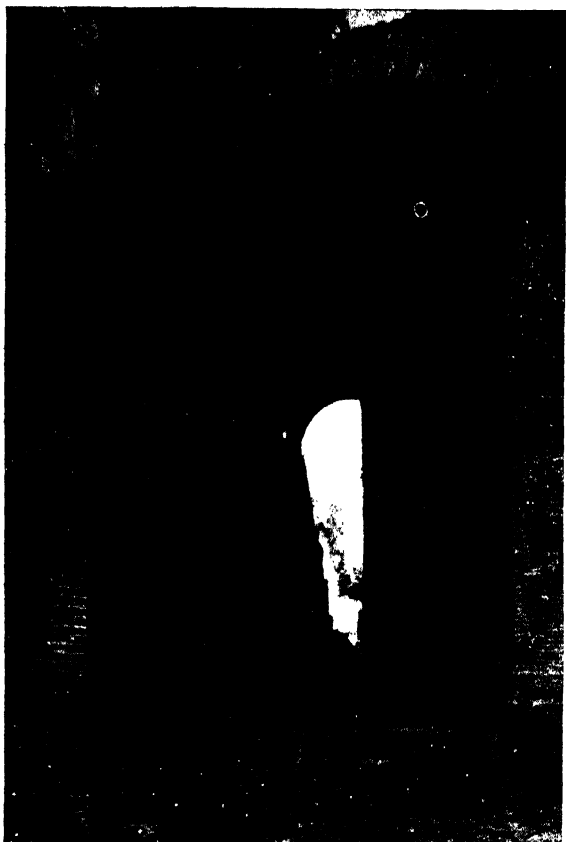
(From a photo by Morpurgo).



The beginning of the *clivus Victoriae*.

Fig. II.

(From a photo by A. Orpurgo).



The *Porta Romana* and the *clivus Victoriae*.

of the Palatine and to change other ones into pleasure grounds.

Notwithstanding these rich and beautiful places and historical recollections, also Domitius Aurelianus (270-275 A.D.) detested the venerable residence of the Cæsars. And Vopiscus narrates that when he was in Rome, he preferred to live in the Salustian gardens rather than in those of Domitian.

When in the year 332 of the Christian era the capital was transferred to Byzantium, a slow period of carelessness and decay is perceivable on the edifices of the Palatine, notwithstanding that Constantius, Honorius, Valentinianus the Third, Petronius Maximus, and Lybius Severus lived there (337-455 A.D.).

With the fall of the Roman Empire Odoacre, and Theodoric, inhabited the old imperial palaces. And then, during the sad period of the Byzantine Exarchate, in the year 629, the Palatine witnessed once more a solemn official ceremony, the coronation of the emperor Heraclius.

* *
* *

But the middle ages are looming with their battles and ruins. To the Goth, Greek, and Longobard succeeded the Frank dominion, and during some times the popes took their place in the semidemolished imperial edifices, when they did not live in the Lateran. When the popes left the Palatine, it was populated, like a new Thebaïd, by monks and monasteries until the baronial overbearing power which had taken possession of it, erected there on fortresses and castles, some remains of which are still visible.

We can easily imagine what became, of the abandoned and crumbling imperial buildings, during this eventful period of struggles and violences. The complete ruin, however, began on the return of the popes from Avignon, at the time of the Renaissance.

The ground of the hill, divided into private properties, in the unoccupied spaces among the ruins was turned into kitchen-gardens and vineyards; but the worst of it is that, because of other vandalistic damages, it was unable to keep even this aspect.

The transformation of the buildings of Rome, under the impulse of the Renaissance, induced the patricians, the patrons and the artists to use the cheap material furnished by the ancient monuments; and as the Forum, the Palatine was not spared.

All that seemed suitable for the new constructions was carried away, uprooted, torn out. What remained was thrown in limekilns purposely constructed on the same place. Excavations made without judgment, and vandalistic demolitions, had no other object but the search for statues and true or imaginary treasures. So the hill was but a formless heap of ruins and marbles, when in the xvth century, on the side of the Roman Forum a villa was built by the Farnese family; the other sides continuing to be cultivated lands.



During more than two centuries the imperial remains were buried in oblivion and under the earth which the course of centuries amassed upon them. In the xviiith century Mr. Bianchini, helped by the Duke

of Parme, and Mr. Rancourel began the first exploring excavations, which were recommenced, after a long time, in the year 1857, after a searching attempt made on 1845 in the vineyard Nusiner, purposely bought by the Emperor of Russia.

Pius the Ninth desirous of undertaking new and systematical searches acquired, few years after, the vineyard Nusiner, that of the English College and some other property on the side of the *Circus Maximus*. Whilst these excavations ordered by the Pontifical Government proceeded with very good results, Napoleon the Third on 1860 bought from the King of Naples the delightful Farnese gardens and began, in his turn, a new series of research. And so, whilst on the side of the Roman Forum, under the direction of the archaeologist P. Rosa and at the initiative of the french Emperor the excavations were continued actively, archaeologist P. E. Visconti was already directing those made on the side of the *Circus Maximus*, by order of Pius the Ninth.

Orazio Marucchi, one of the most illus-

trious pupil of the regretted prof. de Rossi, has already observed that the question was no longer regarding the recovery of statues, the extraction of building materials, and after having taken a fleeting vision of the discovered remains, to conclude by means of more or less arbitrary deductions as to a certain topographical reconstruction. Instead of this, each fragment of material discovered, columns, capitals, all was to be put aside and classified. Every remain was carefully studied. And if there was any exaggeration in that first period, it was in specifying too minutely and dogmatically certain places and souvenirs. And great was the joy of the studios when the so called "house of Germanicus" reappeared with the graceful paintings of the best imperial period and the remains of other famous monuments of the Palatine, the memories of which had reached us through the pages of the classical writers.

The political events of the years 1870-71 prevented any farther excavation. When the Italian government succeeded to the Papal Power it bought the Farnese gardens

from the late Emperor of the French. So the excavations were continued interruptedly under the direction of Mr. Rosa, and later on under that of the regretted Messrs Gatti and Borsari. To these succeeded the present Director Comm. Giacomo Boni, who, applying to the researches on the Palatine the system already applied by him to the explorations of the Forum and which gave so good results, in his new works he proceeded to study also the foundations beneath the already discovered monuments.

At the time of P. Rosa, the public and popular conferences began on the Palatine, in the Forum and the suburb, which were afterwards continued by A. Capannari with a great success; speaking of Rosa, Domenico Gnoli writes as follows:

The company was guided by Pietro Rosa. Indefatigable walker, he had gone through the whole Roman Campagna. Knowing it thoroughly, there was no ancient, road, no cross-lane, no brook, no ruin, no stone which he had not consulted, from the first cottages of the primitive populations up to the fall of the Empire. Others could outdo him in erudition but never in passion and

topographical sense; the ground was for him a book in which he read the passages of the peoples, the life of the centuries.

How well I remember good Rosa! He spoke a strange language, called by us facetiously the "Palatine language", and he helped himself with gestures. He was seeing, he was showing us the towering acropolis on the rock cut vertically, the colonnades of the forums, the roads descending in the direction of the gates, the necropolis hollowed into the crags, the terraces of the imperial and patrician villas on the hills, the marble graves along the roads, which we were seeing in our turn. Topography and erudition are useless, when the imagination is unable to re-edify and to repeople!

(ZANONI, *Una escursione a Gabi*, pref.)

Now-a-days, however, still many topographical problems have to be solved or made clear, for instance the area of villa Mills, of the convento di S. Bonaventura, that portion of the house of Tiberius supposed to extend under the old "Orti Farnesiani", and the area surrounding the Chiesa di S. Sebastiano.

In the visit we are going to undertake to the celebrated hill we shall follow the local denominations more commonly accepted up to now, not forgetting to touch

upon, if necessary, the various hypotheses which might seem to be suggested or proved by the current explorations. Hypotheses well founded which might become certainty if Comm. Boni, the genial explorer, should be lucky enough to tear away so many secrets that the cradle of Rome is still jealously hiding.

The Roman Forum was justly compared to a mysterious palimpsest, The same can be affirmed as to the Palatine. We are hoping that with the new revival of civilization and greatness of Italy, we shall be able to read, as in a book, on the ruins of the hill, the great and tragical pages of the fatal city, with the memories of which the whole Latin World has been always imbued in its continuous struggles against every sort of barbarity.

II.

*Dawn of history - Rhea Sylvia - The twin Infants -
Foundation of Rome - Romulus and neighbouring
peoples - Death of Romulus - Apotheosis.*

In order to better understand the description of the Hill and the legends refer-

ring to its most ancient monuments, we have given here below the free translation of some fragments of T. Livy (*), P. C. Tacitus and G. A. Florus.

Proca ruled next. He begat Numitor and Amulius; to Numitor, the elder, he bequeathed the ancient realm of the Silvian family. Yet violence proved more potent than a father's wishes or respect for seniority. Amulius drove out his brother and ruled in his stead. Adding crime to crime, he destroyed Numitor's male issue; and Rhea Silvia, his brother's daughter, he appointed a Vestal under pretence of honouring her, and by consigning her to perpetual virginity, deprived her of the hope of children.

But the Fates were resolved, as I suppose, upon the founding of this great city, and the beginning of the mightiest of empires, next after that of Heaven. The Vestal was ravished, and having given birth to twin sons, named Mars as the father of her doubtful offspring, whether actually so believing, or because it seemed less wrong if a god were the author of her fault. But neither gods nor men protected the mother herself or her babes from the king's cruelty: the priestess he ordered to be manacled and cast into prison, the children to be committed to the river. It happened by singular good for-

(*) From the well Known English translation by B. O. FOSTER, Ph. D. of Standford University, London, William Heinemann, 1919.

tune that the Tiber having spread beyond its banks into stagnant pools afforded nowhere any access to the regular channel of the river, and the men who brought the twins were led to hope that being infants they might be drowned, no matter how sluggish the stream. So they made shift to discharge the king's command, by exposing the babes at the nearest point of the overflow, where the fig-tree Ruminalis – formerly, they say, called Romularis – now stands. In those days this was a wild and uninhabited region. The story persists that when the floating basket in which the children had been exposed was left high and dry by the receding water, a she-wolf, coming down out of the surrounding hills to slake her thirst, turned her steps towards the cry of the infants, and with her teats gave them suck so gently, that the keeper of the royal flock found her licking them with her tongue. Tradition assigns to this man the name of Faustulus, and adds that he carried the twins to his hut and gave them to his wife Larentia to rear. Some think that Larentia, having been free with her favours, had got the name of “she-wolf” among the shepherds, and that this gave rise to this marvellous story. The boys, thus born and reared, had no sooner attained to youth than they began – yet without neglecting the farmstead or the flocks – to range the glades of the mountains for game. Having in this way gained both strength and resolution, they would now not only face wild beasts, but would attack robbers laden with their spoils, and divide up what they took from them among the shepherds, with whom they shared their toils

and pranks, while their band of young men grew larger every day.

They say that the Palatine was even then the scene of the merry festival of the Lupercalia which we have to-day, and that the hill was named Pallantium, from Pallanteum, an Arcadian city, and then Palatium. There Evander, an Arcadian of that stock, who had held the place many years at the time of which I am writing, is said to have established the yearly rite, derived from Arcadia, that youths should run naked about in playful sport, doing honour to Lycaean Pan, whom the Romans afterwards called Inuus. When the youngmen were occupied in this celebration, the rite being generally known, some robbers who had been angered by the loss of their plunder laid an ambush for them, and although Romulus successfully defended himself, captured Remus and delivered up their prisoner to King Amulius, even lodging a complaint against him. The main charge was that the brothers made raids on the lands of Numitor, and pilaged them, with a band of young fellows which they had got together, like an invading enemy. So Remus was given up to Numitor to be punished. From the very beginning Faustulus had entertained the suspicion that they were children of the royal blood that he was bringing up in his house; for he was aware both that infants had been exposed by order of the King, and that the time when he had himself taken up the children exactly coincided with that event. But he had been unwilling that the matter should be disclosed prematurely, until opportunity offered or necessity compelled.

Necessity came first; accordingly, driven by fear, he revealed the facts to Romulus. It chanced that Numitor too, having Remus in custody, and hearing that the brothers were twins, had been reminded, upon considering their age and their far from servile nature, of his grandsons. The inquiries he made led him to the same conclusion, so that he was almost ready to acknowledge Remus. Thus on every hand the toils were woven about the king. Romulus did not assemble his company of youths - for he was not equal to open violence - but commanded his shepherds to come to the palace at an appointed time, some by one way, some by another, and so made his attack upon the king; while from the house of Numitor came Remus, with another party which he had got together, to help his brother. So Romulus slew the king. At the beginning of the fray Numitor exclaimed that an enemy had invaded the city and attacked the palace, and drew off the active men of the palace to serve as an armed garrison for the defence of the citadel; and when he saw the young men approaching, after they had dispatched the king, to congratulate him, he at once summoned a council and laid before it his brother's crimes against himself, the parentage of his grandsons, and how they had been born, reared, and recognised. He then announced the tyrant's death, and declared himself to be responsible for it. The brothers advanced with their band through the midst of the crowd, and hailed their grandfather king, whereupon such a shout of assent arose from the entire throng as confirmed the new monarch's title and authority.

The Alban state being thus made over to Numitor, Romulus and Remus were seized with the desire to found a city in the region where they had been exposed and brought up. And in fact the population of Albans and Latins was too large; besides, there were the shepherds. All together, their numbers might easily lead men to hope that Alba would be small, and Lavinium small, compared with the city which they should build. These considerations were interrupted by the curse of their grand-sires, the greed of kingly power, and by a shameful quarrel which grew out of it, upon an occasion innocent enough. Since the brothers were twins, and respect for their age could not determine between them, it was agreed that the gods who had those places in their protection should choose by augury who should give the new city its name, who should govern it when built. Romulus took the Palatine for his augural quarter, Remus the Aventine. Remus is said to have been the first to receive an augury, from the flight of six vultures. The omen had been already reported when twice that number appeared to Romulus. Thereupon each was saluted king by his own followers, the one party laying claim to the honour from priority, the other from the number of the birds. They then engaged in a battle of words and, angry taunts leading to bloodshed, Remus was struck down in the affray. The commoner story is that Remus leaped over the new walls in mockery of his brother, whereupon Romulus in great anger slew him, and in menacing wise added these words withal, "So perish whoever else shall leap over my walls!" Thus Romulus

acquired sole power, and the city, thus founded, was called by its founder's name.

His first act was to fortify the Palatine, on which he had himself been reared. (From LIVY, I 2-4).

It would be advisable now to call to mind the line drawn by the walls and the *pomerium*. Romulus laid open its track from the Forum Boarium, – there where the bronze simulacre of the bull was put, this animal being adapted to the plough, – and he there enclosed the *Ara Maxima* (Greatest Altar) of Hercules. He drove in, then, at determined distances, some boundary-pillars and, along the foot of the Palatine, by the altar of Consus and the Old Curiae (Curie Vecchie) he continued towards the present Roman Forum. The Forum and the Capitol are supposed to have been added not by Romulus but by T. Tatius. As the city grew in power and in weight the pomerium grew in proportion.

(From P. C. TACITUS, *Ann.* XII 24).

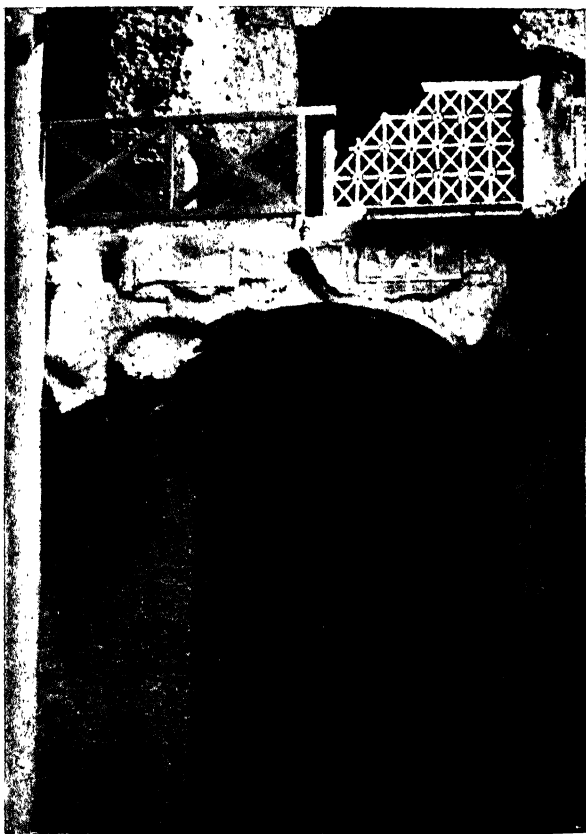
To other gods he [*Romulus*] sacrificed after the Alban custom, but employed the Greek for Hercules, according to the institution of Evander. The story is as follows: Hercules, after slaying Geryones, was driving off his wondrously beautiful cattle, when, close to the river Tiber, where he had swum across it with the herd before him, he found a green spot, where he could let the cattle rest and refresh themselves with the abundant grass; and being tired from his journey he lay down himself. When he had there fallen into a deep sleep, for he was heavy

with food and wine, a shepherd by the name of Cacus, who dwelt hard by and was insolent by reason of his strength, was struck with the beauty of the animals, and wished to drive them off as plunder. But if he had driven the herd into his cave, their tracks would have been enough to guide their owner to the place in his search; he therefore chose out those of the cattle that were most remarkable for their beauty, and turning them the other way, dragged them into the cave by their tails. At daybreak Hercules awoke. Glancing over the herd, and perceiving that a part of their number was lacking, he proceeded to the nearest cave, in case there might be foot-prints leading into it. When he saw that they were all turned outward and yet did not lead to any other place, he was confused and bewildered, and made ready to drive his herd away from that uncanny spot. As the cattle were being driven off, some of them lowed, as usually happens, missing those which had been left behind. They were answered with a low by the cattle shut up in the cave, and this made Hercules turn back. When he came towards the cave, Cacus would have prevented his approach with force, but received a blow from the hero's club, and calling in vain upon the shepherds to protect him, gave up the ghost. Evander, an exile from the Peloponnese, controlled that region in those days, more through personal influence than sovereign power. He was a man revered for his wonderful invention of letters, a new thing to men unacquainted with the arts, and even more revered because of the divinity which men attributed to his mother Carmenta, whom those tribes had

admired as a prophetess before the Sibyl's coming into Italy. Now this Evander was then attracted by the concourse of shepherds, who, crowding excitedly about the stranger, were accusing him as a murderer caught red-handed. When he had been told about the deed and the reason for it, and had marked the bearing of the man and his figure, which was somewhat ampler and more august than a mortal's, he inquired who he was. Upon learning his name, his father, and his birth-place, he exclaimed, "Hail, Hercules, son of Jupiter! You are he, of whom my mother, truthful interpreter of Heaven, foretold to me that you should be added to the number of the gods, and that an altar should be dedicated to you here which the nation one day to be the most powerful on earth should call the Greatest Altar, and should serve according to your rite." Hercules gave him his hand, and declared that he accepted the omen, and would fulfil the prophecy by establishing and dedicating an altar. Then and there men took a choice victim from the herd, and for the first time made sacrifice to Hercules. For the ministry and the banquet they employed the Potitii and the Pinarii, being the families of most distinction then living in that region. It so fell out that the Potitii were there at the appointed time, and to them were served the inwards; the Pinarii came after the inwards had been eaten, in season for the remainder of the feast. Thence came the custom, which persisted as long as the Pinarian family endured, that they should not partake of the inwards at that sacrifice. The Potitii, instructed by Evander, were priests of this cult for many generations.

Fig. III.

(From a photo by Mosconi).



Balcony of the palace of Caligula.

until, having delegated to public slaves the solemn function of their family, the entire stock of the Potitii died out. This was the only sacred observance, of all those of foreign origin, which Romulus the adopted, honouring even then the immortality won by worth, to which his own destiny was leading him.

When Romulus had duly attended to the worship of the gods, he called the people together and gave them the rules of law, since nothing else but law could unite them into a single body politic. But these, he was persuaded, would only appear binding in the eyes of a rustic people in case he should invest his own person with majesty, by adopting emblems of authority. He therefore put on a more august state in every way, and especially by the assumption of twelve lictors. Some think the twelve birds which had given him an augury of kingship led him to choose this number. For my part, I am content to share the opinion of those who derive from the neighbouring Etruscans (whence were borrowed the curule chair and purple-bordered toga) not only the type of attendants but their number as well – a number which the Etruscans themselves are thought to have chosen because each of the twelve cities which united to elect the king contributed one lictor.

Meanwhile the city was expanding and reaching out its walls to include one place after another, for they built their defences with an eye rather to the population which they hoped one day to have than to the numbers they had then. Next, lest his big city should be empty, Romulus resorted to a plan for increasing the inhabitants

which had long been employed by the founders of cities, who gather about them an obscure and lowly multitude and pretend that the earth has raised up sons to them. In the place which is now enclosed, between the two groves as you go up the hill, he opened a sanctuary. Thither fled, from the surrounding peoples, a miscellaneous rabble, without distinction of bond or free, eager for new conditions ; and these constituted the first advance in power towards that greatness at which Romulus aimed. He had now no reason to be dissatisfied with his strength, and proceeded to add policy to strength. He appointed a hundred senators, whether because this number seemed to him sufficient, or because there were no more than a hundred who could be designated Fathers. At all events, they received the designation of Fathers from their rank, and their descendants were called patricians.

Rome was now strong enough to hold her own in war with any of the adjacent states ; but owing to the want of women a single generation was likely to see the end of her greatness, since she had neither prospect of posterity at home nor the right of intermarriage with her neighbours. So, on the advice of the Senate, Romulus sent envoys round among all the neighbouring nations to solicit for the new people an alliance and the privilege of intermarrying. Cities, they argued, as well as all other things, take their rise from the lowliest beginnings. As time goes on, those which are aided by their own worth and by the favour of Heaven achieve great power and renown. They said they were well assured that Rome's origin had been blessed with the favour of

Heaven, and that worth would not be lacking; their neighbours should not be reluctant to mingle their stock and their blood with the Romans, who were as truly men as they were. Nowhere did the embassy obtain a friendly hearing. In fact men spurned, at the same time that they feared, both for themselves and their descendants, that great power which was then growing up in their midst; and the envoys were frequently asked, on being dismissed, if they had opened a sanctuary for women as well as for men, for in that way only would they obtain suitable wives. This was a bitter insult for the young Romans, and the matter seemed certain to end in violence. Expressly to afford a fitting time and place for this, Romulus, concealing his resentment, made ready solemn games in honour of the equestrian Neptune, which he called Consualia. He then bade proclaim the spectacle to the surrounding peoples, and his subjects prepared to celebrate it with all the resources within their knowledge and power, that they might cause the occasion to be noised abroad and eagerly expected. Many people, – for they were also eager to see the new city, – gathered for the festival, especially those who lived nearest, the inhabitants of Caenina, Crustumium, and Antemnae. The Sabines, too, came with all their people, including their children and wives. They were hospitably entertained in every house, and when they had looked at the site of the city, its walls, and its unmerous buildings, they marvelled that Rome had so rapidly grown great. When the time came for the show, and people's thoughts and eyes were busy with it, the preconcerted

attack began. At a given signal the young Romans darted this way and that, to seize and carry off the maidens. In most cases these were taken by the men in whose path they chanced to be. Some, of exceptional beauty, had been marked out for the chief senators, and were carried off to their houses by plebeians to whom the office had been entrusted. One, who far excelled the rest in mien and loveliness, was seized, the story relates, by the gang of a certain Thalassius. Being repeatedly asked for whom they were bearing her off, they kept shouting that no one should touch her, for they were taking her to Thalassius, and this was the origin of the wedding-cry. The sports broke up in a panic, and the parents of the maidens fled sorrowing. They charged the Romans with the crime of violating hospitality, and invoked the gods to whose solemn games they had come, deceived in violation of religion and honour. The stolen maidens were no more hopeful of their plight, nor less indignant. But Romulus himself went amongst them and explained that the pride of their parents had caused this deed, when they had refused their neighbours the right of intermarry; nevertheless the daughters should be wedded and become co-partners in all the possession of the Romans, in their citizenship and, dearest privilege of all to the human race, in their children; only let them moderate their anger and give their hearts to those to whom fortune had given their persons. A sense of injury had often given place to affection and they would find their husbands the kinder for this reason, that everyman would earnestly endeavour

not only to be a good husband, but also to console his wife for the home and parents she had lost. His arguments were seconded by the wooing of the men, who excused their act on the score of passion and love, the the most moving of all pleas to a woman's heart.

(From LIVY, I 4).

. . . all these events occasioned the war. Romulus, after having broken up and routed the Veientes, destroyed the city of the Caeninenses and offered to Jupiter Fere-trius the rich spoils of the enemy's dead king. The gates of the city were opened to the Sabines by a girl who had asked them to give her what they were wearing on their left arms, not specifying whether the bracelets or the shields. And those, to keep their word and to avenge themselves threw their shields upon her. When the enemies approached the walls the battle waxed so hot and furious that Romulus himself, swept along in the crowd of the fugitives, cried to Jupiter to arrest the shameful flight of the Romans. This was the origin of the temple of Jupiter the Stayer (*Juppiter Stator*). While the conflict raged fiercer the stolen women with loosened hair tried to go amongst the fighters to part them.

Once the peace with Tatius was concluded the enemies left their abodes for the new city, and as a marriage portion to the stolen women, they shared their own riches in common with their sons - in - law. So Rome grew in power and strength. Romulus then ordered that all the youths be divided into clans with their arms and horses to be ready for every danger. He appointed, after-

wards, a council which he called Senate, being composed of old men also named *patres* for their authority.

One day whilst Romulus was holding a review near the swamp of Capra (*palus Caprea*), he was suddenly hidden from the sight of the assembly. Some refer that the king, having become a tyrant, was torn to pieces by the Senators themselves. Proculus Julius referred that Romulus, envelopped in a thick cloud, was raised to the sky, and that he one morning appeared to him and ordered him to declare to the Romans that he was to be adored by them as a god, and Rome would afterwards become the capital of the world.

(From G. A. FLORUS, *Rer. Rom.* I 1).

ON THE PALATINE

ON THE PALATINE

*Humanae genti nova lex pandatur ab Urbe
cui robur nomen ROMA sit orbis AMOR.*

(DOMENICO TINOZZI, *Pax*, Kal. ian. M.CM.XIN).

I.

The view of the Forum and three famous roads of ancient Rome - A byzantine church near the ancient "vicus Tuscus"; ancient and modern mothers - Cagliula and his madness - An imperial staircase, poet Ovid and Servius Sulpicius Galba.

It would be advisable for the tourist who is going from the Capitol to the Palatine to stop a moment at the little square of the Via del Campidoglio, whence, a little beyond the entrance to the Tabularium, he can see the whole Roman Forum and the ruins around.

The visitor will have behind him the ancient *Tabularium*, flanked by imposing towers and reduced to a fortress in the Middle-Ages. Below him and to his left,

he will perceive the remains of the consenting Gods (*Dei consentes*), the last protest of dying paganism, in the IVth century; further on, always to his left, the remains of the temple of Vespasian with the three remaining columns and the area of the temple of Concord where, in a memorable meeting, the destiny of S. Catilina and his conspirators was decided. And, a little further, to complete the tragical remembrance, he will see before the arch of Septimius Severus, the homonymous way, which, very nearly, follows the same direction of the "Gemonian Scales" where the dead prisoners were exposed. Close by is the church of S. Giuseppe de' Falegnami, erected on the *Carcer Tullianum* efficaciously described by C. C. Sallust (*Bell. Cat.* 55).

Always to the visitor's left, stands the church of S. Martino, once *Secretarium Senatus* and that of S. Adriano, the ancient *Curia* or Senate-house; the ruins of the *Basilica Aemilia*, the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, now S. Lorenzo in Miranda, with the *heroon* of Romulus, and

the Archives of the city. The colossal arcades of the **Basilica** of Maxentius or of Constantine with the church of S. Francesca Romana, and the Colosseum close the imposing view of the famous locality, with the arch of Titus towering to the right on the Velia.

Here begins the Sacred Way that leads to the Forum; the way of the victors. It passes before the already mentioned monuments, turns in the direction of the Palatine soon after the temple of J. Caesar and flanked by the column of Claudius the Second the Goth and by the other honorary monuments, and passing the *Basilica Julia* which the visitor will find to his right, proceeds towards the Capitol. The modern constructions obstruct the view of the *Clivus* which from the Sacred Way near the temple of Saturn, led formerly to the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus. Now-a-days it is in part reappearing, with paving of much later date, just before the entrance to the *Tabularium*.

The imposing ruins of the Palatine, almost facing the visitor, overlook the mo-

numents of the Forum. At the bottom, behind the *Basilica Iulia*, after the three elegant columns of the temple of the two Dioscuri, the high walls attributed by some to the Libraries and by others to the temple of Augustus, are visible. They hide from us the other constructions of the emperor Caligula, but further away and over them we can see the remains of those which for a long time were attributed to a supposed "palace of Tiberius." A thick vegetation adorns them and gives life to the imposing scene.

Parallel to the Sacred Way, at the foot of the constructions of Caligula the *Via Nova* ascends under falling arcades in the direction of the arch of Titus. Half way up the hill the tourist will find the *Clivus Victoriae* which we shall shortly speak of.

This is the magnificent scenery that precedes and completes the view of the not less imposing ruins of the Palatine.

The tourist, taking the road which flanks the Roman Forum from which it took its name, now comes to the *Via di S. Teodoro* and after having glanced over the ruins

which from this side, at the far end overlook the road, reaches the entrance to the Palatine.

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The modern Via di S. Teodoro, so called from the round church of the holy martyr, nearly follows the line of the ancient *Vicus Tuscus*. There it was that in the earliest Roman times the Etruscan colony settled and gave its name to the above mentioned *Vicus*. The primitive worship and the simulacre of Vertumnus later on attested to its origin. At the time of Plautus (254-184 B. C.?) the road, principally inhabited by barbers, perfumers and pomade-makers, was of very bad repute because of the scum who inhabited or frequented it (*Curcul.* IV 1, 21).

Before climbing the Palatine the tourist must not forget to visit the round church of S. Teodoro.

It is supposed to have been erected on the ruins of an ancient Roman edifice justly identified by some with the doubtful temple of Augustus. The church dedicated to

the martyr soldier, according to the *Liber pontificalis*, was restored by the pope Leo the Third, and certainly was with others given up to the religious practices of the Greek-roman militia-men who were in garrison on the Palatine at the time of the exarchate.

The byzantine mosaics of the apse represent our Lord between the apostles Peter and Paul, sitting upon the globe, in act of blessing. The titular Saint, bearded, with the crown of martyrdom, is at the side of St. Peter; another young saint (Cleonicus?), doubtlessly another martyr, is beside St. Paul. It is worthy of note that the martyrs Sebastian, Theodore and George in the decadencesubstituted, - as protectors of the Greek-roman army - the DioscURI, the ancient and legendary heroes to whom, together with other divinities, the protection of the legions was entrusted.

Laterly the church had many remarkable restorations at the time of Nicholas the Fifth (cfr. DE ROSSI, *Mosaici*, ecc. *San Teodoro*).

In the little atrium which precedes it,

an altar is conserved, perhaps sacred to Bacchus. Untill a few years ago good roman mothers used to bring votive-offerings and wax candles to "san Toto," as they called with an endearing familiarity the oriental martyr, in order to obtain from him the recovery of their sick children. A pious custom which calls to mind another, i. e. the one of the ancient daughters of Rome bringing gifts and ex-votoes with the same intention, to the Lupercal. This was the sacred grotto entering which, according to the legend, Faustus found under the *Ficus ruminalis* the twin infants Romulus and Remus being suckled by a "she-wolf."

On account of the supposed discovery in this neighbourhood of an ancient bronze wolf, someone erroneously believed that S. Teodoro rose exactly on the area of the ancient Lupercal.

Finally, as a curiosity, we remember that the church of S. Teodoro is the seat of the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, called of the "Sacconi" whose members all belong to the aristocracy and the upper Roman bourgeoisie.

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The present entrance to the Palatine is immediately to the left of the church. Perhaps, in the near future, as soon as the exploring excavations are definitively arranged a more worthy entrance will be opened a little further on, decorated by the elegant portal of the Vignola which formerly adorned the entrance to the ancient *Orti Farnesiani*.

As soon as we enter the steep alley, the first thing that we see to our left is a deep excavation which brought to light constructions of later ages made with ancient material. But further away from that group of confused ruins, the walls of an imposing monument of the best imperial period rise like giants.

It is a wide rectangular brick construction. In the xvi century it was erroneously supposed to have been the temple of Jupiter the Stayer and Pirro Ligorio left a drawing of a room which was still richly adorned with marbles and corinthian columns. Some recognised in it, and not

Fig. IV.

(*Phot. Moscioni*).



Constructions attribuées à Commode.

wrongly as we shall see, a dependence of the palace of Caligula (37-41 A. D.).

Everybody knows that this emperor, a degenerate son of Germanicus, was believed to be son and brother of Castor and Pollux, of whose temple the remains are still admired just at the foot of the Palatine, a little further from the constructions in question. Caligula protracted the buildings of his palace as far as this temple, which became like an atrium of the imperial residence, so that the Emperor said that the Dioscuri were his "porters." And often, sitting down between the statues of the two divinities, he was seriously accepting the adulatory homage, the veneration and the incense of his own priests, courtesans and people (cfr. Suet. *Cal.* 22).

During one of these ceremonies Caligula perceived among the prostrated people a Gallic shoemaker who was irreverently laughing at him. He called him aside and having asked him for the reason of his laughter, the shoemaker answered boldly: "I think that there is no maniac in the world more amusing than you." According to Dion Cassius (*Hist.* LIX) Caligula did not get angry at this answer, and sent the shoemaker unpunished saying that it was not worth while to pay attention to the words of such a man.

Suetonius in the life of this Caesar (22) relates that this same emperor joined the Palatine with the Capitoline Hill by a bridge passing over the temple of Augustus, in order to go there more easily and speak, as he said, with Jupiter and the other divinities of the Capitoline hill which Caligula, in his madness, threatened with banishment and exile.

This episode caused someone to suppose that in one of the two large rooms of the edifice in question the temple of Augustus is to be recognised; the other room later on reduced to the church of *S. Maria Antiqua* is to be identified with the Palatine Library. To these suppositions it was objected that the former had an aspect quite different from that of a temple, and the latter was situated not far from the portico of Apollo, as we shall see further on.

No trace remains of the Caligulan bridge, destroyed by Claudius. When this emperor succeeded to Caligula (41-54 A. D.) the temple of the Castori was isolated again and the adjacent monuments recovered their ancient aspect.

Moreover, according to Prof. Marucchi and others, perhaps, the Caligulan bridge was but a temporary passage nearly similar to the mediæval corridor joining the Vatican palaces to Castel S. Angelo. And so, the title of "temple of Augustus" not being accepted, many people conclude that the two rooms were a dependence of the imposing *Domus Caligulana*, the dwelling which was the witness and the theatre of the odd pranks of the crowned maniac.



A little further from the church of San Teodoro the visitor turns to his left (*Fig. 1*) and sees below the room which was afterwards transformed into the byzantine church of *S. Maria Antiqua*. After having glanced, to his right, over the various constructions and rooms, which since many ages have been attributed to the palace of Tiberius, he will shortly reach one of the most important entrances to the group of the imperial buildings. From this place two flights of steps started. The first,

the monumental *scalea imperiale* descending under very high arcades and between two walls still conserving, here and there, some poor remains of the ancient marble cover, leads to the church of *S. Maria Antiqua* which lies below. The other staircase at the left of the entrance, now entirely buried in heaps of stones, led to the *Via Nova*. It seems that, at the time of Augustus another flight of steps led from this *via* to the Roman Forum, not far from the temple of Vesta. And it was, probably, before this staircase that the gallant poet Ovid, who had gone to see the festivals of Vesta, was struck by the vision of a bare-footed and charming roman matron coming down from the temple (*Fast.* VI 395 sqq.).

On the 15th of January 69 Servius Sulpicius Galba succeeded on the 11th of June 68 A. D. to Nero, in order to counteract the abuses and the always increasing unruliness of the prætorian guards, he named as his successor Calpurnius Piso Licinianus. Marcus Salvius Otho, an ancient favourite of Nero, recently arrived from Lusitania, despairing of reaching the empire, he incited to rebellion the prætorian guards, who threateningly invaded

the Forum. Galba, then, accompanied by few faithful companions, was certainly forced to descend one of these staircases in order to reach the Forum as soon as possible, hoping to quiet the guards and call them back to their duty. Piso, in that confusion was killed on the threshold of the temple of Vesta; Galba, carried along with the tumultuous crowd and oppressed by many enemies was murdered near the lake of Curtius (TAC. *Hist.* I 39 sqq.; Suet. *Galba* 17 sgg.; PLUT. *Galba* 22 sqq.; CASS. DIO LXIV).

II.

Q. Lutatius Catulus, M. Fulvius Flaccus, M. Livius Drusus, L. Sergius Catilina and M. Tullius Cicero on the Palatine - The "Porta Romanula" and the "clivus Victoriae" - Did Tiberius build on the Palatine? - The "Domus Caligulana" or "Gaiana", barracks, leisures and a souvenir of L. Elius Aurelius Commodus - St. Peter and Simon Magus - The worship and the temple of Victory and the room "of the rain."

Along this border of the Palatine hill, but near the Velia, were, perhaps, situated the house inhabited by Cicero, erected by that famous M. Livius Drusus who participated very actively in the troubles which preceded the civil war (92-89 B. C.); the

house of Catilina; near the *Porta Romanula*, that of Q. Lutatius Catulus, the porticoes of which, as we know, had been adorned with the spoils of the Cymrichs vanquished by him and by Marius at the *Campi Raudii* near Vercelli in the year 101 B. C.; and, not far off, the house of M. Fulvius Flaccus, the conqueror of the Gauls and partisan of Caius Gracchus, which was demolished after the death encountered by the tribune during the ferocious repression of the popular insurrection (123-121 B. C.).

As it happened to Cicero, on his return from exile, Valerius Maximus - the coqueror of the Sabines - and P. Valerius Volesus - son of Publicola - (ASC. PED. *In Pison.*) had also their houses, built at the public expense, on the Palatine. We have already said that also the fierce enemy of Cicero, the tribune Clodius, inhabited the Palatine (ASC. PED. *In Milon.*).

But, as we have already observed, the following imperial constructions invaded the area of those ancient republican reminiscences.

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Precisely here one of the four gates of the Palatine was opened: the *Romana* or *Romanula* the name of which is derived, perhaps, from the archaic word *rumor*, or river, for this gate led immediately to the plains lying beneath, mostly inundated by the waters of the Tiber and other sources, before important draining works had regulated their effluvia (OVID. *Fast.* VI 401 sqq.). Many pretend that the gate was so named from the word *rumen* or "breast" alluding to the legendary she-wolf which, under the *Ficus ruminalis* of the near grotto of Lupercus suckled the twin infants Romulus and Remus (*Fig. II*).

Near this place began the *clivus Victoriae* - the "slope of the Victory" - which, almost parallel to the under lying roads *Nova* and *Sacra*, led near to the temple of Jupiter the Stayer on the top of the Velia, where, near the posterior arch of Titus, it led through another *clivus*, to the *Summa Sacra Via*. Such a denomination is to be taken from a very ancient temple dedicated

to the goddess Victory which seems to have been situated almost on the centre-edge of the Palatine Hill.

The *clivus* crossed near the *Porta Romanula* the open area of a more ancient edifice, perhaps that of the house of Flaccus. It runs, now, between a double wing of constructions which, more probably must have appertained to the *domus Gaiana* or house of Caligula and not to the *domus Tiberiana*.



And now, a question arises. Did Tiberius really accomplish any important works on the Palatine? Suetonius (*Tiber.* 47), who accuses him of not having finished the construction of the temple of Augustus and the restoration of Pompey's theatre begun by him, says that in fact of edilship he did not leave anything of note in Rome, that could bear his name to posterity: *neque opera ulla magnifica fecit*. The same opinion is held of Dion Cassius (*Hist.* LVII, 10) and Tacitus (*Ann.* VI, 45).

But, on the contrary, a *domus Tiberiana* is mentioned by Cornelius Tacitus himself, by Capitolinus, Victor and by the *Notitia*; and Vopiscus makes mention of a library annexed to the *domus Tiberiana*.

We see, further, as someone tries to explain this seeming contradiction of texts. So, not admitting the existence of a large palace, built by Tiberius on the Palatine, yet they attribute to Caligula the constructions along this side of the *clivus Victoriae*, a great number of which are still covered by the Farnese gardens. After all Pliny also attests that the Caligulan buildings were excessively rich and sumptuous, so that he deplored to have seen Rome twice invaded and almost stifled by the huge Neronian and Caligulan moles (*Nat. hist.* XXXVI 24). And Suetonius (*Calig.* 22, 50) describes to us the restless son of Germanicus wandering, in the sleepless nights, through the long porticoes of his palace invoking and waiting for the daylight. Plutarch also in his *vita* of Romulus adds many remarkable informations regarding the Caligulan constructions, by reason of which a tree was

cut down which, according to the legend, had sprang from the founder's spear.

Advancing into the rooms, the visitor has to his left the beautiful view of the Sacred Way, of the atrium of the house of the Vestals lying beneath, of the *Via Nova* and of the monuments adjacent to the Forum. Over, at his right, some remains of covered-galleries with artistic stuccoes and fragments of marble transennae testify, in part, to the sumptuousness of this side of the imperial buildings (*Fig. III*).

It is advisable to visit a few rooms on the ground floor supposed by many to have been utilised as guard-houses. The walls are covered, here and there, by graffiti and we can read the names of *Philaromus*, *Annaeus* and *Aprilis*. A soldier, perhaps oppressed by the sultry-heat and by the guard, there wrote he felt very sleepy: *Somnus claudit ocellos*. Other very licentious graffiti reveal some episodes of garrison life.

And, within an almost indecipherable knot of drawings and inscriptions, an unknown soldier wishes one of his rivals to

be devoured by wild beasts in solitary places: *illum secretis montibus ursus edat.*

Through one of these rooms we go to the upper floor whence the view of the *clivus Victoriae* is very picturesque. A little further on an ancient staircase leads from the *clivus* to the garden terrace. Probably it led, formerly, to one of the wings of this side of the palace. Both sides of the *clivus* are flanked by rooms, some of which are remarkable for their size and good construction (*Fig. IV*). An epigraph dedicated by the imperial freed-man A. Titallon to "Hercules Augustus" having been discovered in this neighbourhood, there are many who call this side "palace of Commodus" for this emperor was very anxious to be worshipped under the name of this divinity.



Here we are before the delightful *casino* of the Farnese family formerly "aviary" of the villa and now the seat of the 'Direzione degli Scavi.' Let us stop a little to admire the picturesque group of the three

large arcades of the Basilica of Maxentius (later of Constantine) and of other ruins of this side next to the Velia. Near here, on the Sacred Way, according to the medieval tales happened the tragic epilogue of the legendary dispute of the apostles Peter and Paul with Simon Magus and the ruin and death of this last under the reign of Nero. So, in the near church of S. Maria Nova, - now S. Francesca Romana, - erected on the ruins of the temple of Venus and Roma is supposed to be the siliceous polygon of the Sacred Way, upon which the apostle st. Peter knelt down to pray is visible; and in the Basilica Vaticana at the end of the left nave, in front of the tomb of Alexander VII, a painting by Vanni represents the flight of Simon Magus, who released, by the prayers of the apostles, from the evil spirits who supported him, falls to the ground before Nero.

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As we have already said the *clivus Victoriae* led, formerly, to a temple dedicated to Victory, a national Roman divinity who,

according to Claudianus (*De VI consulatu Honorii Augusti*) was worshipped as a tutelary genius of Rome and of the Empire: *Romanae tutela togae*. We are induced to believe that the temple of Victory arose in this neighbourhood by the interesting discoveries here made in various periods and also by some fragments of inscriptions referring to a sacrarium dedicated to her. Asconius Pedianus, making mention of the house of P. Valerius Volesius on the Palatine says that it was near the Velia "where now is the temple of Victory:" *sub Veliis, ubi nunc aedis Victoriae est* (*In Pison.*)

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Arch.* I 32) mentions that the said temple was erected in the same place where the legendary Evander, king of the Arcadians, had already consecrated an altar to Victory. The attestation of the Grecian writer and others, tending to induce one to believe to the pre-existence of an Hellenic colony on the Palatine which joined the Latin one, was not accepted by contemporary and posterior writers. Notwithstanding this, Virgil also

makes mention of Arcadians continually fighting against the Latins.

Livy (X, 33) informs us that the temple of Victory was built by the curule aedile L. Postumius in the year 460-461 of Rome. Here was temporarily deposited the famous simulacrum brought from Pessinus to Rome and later venerated in the temple of Cybele. According to a fragment of the *calendar* of Verrius Flaccus, there was celebrated, on the 1st of August, the solemn commemoration of the conquest of Egypt made by Augustus. Later on the temple took the name of *Victoria Germaniciana*; but we do not know if it was so named to commemorate the victory of Germanicus Cæsar, father of Caligula, who avenged at Hasbach in the year 16 A.D. the defeat suffered by Q. Varus seven years before in the Teutoburgian Forest near the Vesper in Westphalia, and where he recovered the Eagles and other insignia lost during the defeat, - or for some other reason.

We must also recollect that on the Palatine, and perhaps in this neighbourhood, there was a little chapel erected in con-

sequence of a vow made by Portius Cato in the year 195 during the war against the Hispanians, and dedicated to the *Victoria Virgo* in the year 193 B.C. (Liv. XXXV 9, 6).

Naturally the devotion to the goddess of Victory has been always very great in Rome. She had an altar and a golden statue in the Curia or Senate-Hall and the removal of these symbols towards the end of the ivth century under the emperor Gratianus certainly signified the down-fall of paganism in Rome.

Below the *Farnese Casino*, through shady alleys and stairs we reach the "room of the rain," which, with the vestibule, the cordon and the former gate by Vignola, ornamented on this side, the characteristic entrance on the Farnese gardens.

III.

The Velia and its memories – The arch of Titus, the Penates and the Lares – The temple of Jupiter the Stayer – From Romulus to Federico Barbarossa and Alexander the Third – The Frangipani – The “Turris Iniquitatis” the statue of “Victory” and the Absburgs – Tarquinius Priscus and an ancient gate of Rome – On the threshold of the palace of Domitian.

We now proceed through the *clivus Victoriae* always along the ruins of the so-called *domus Caligulana* and we reach the top of the Velia. Let us advance a little, as far as the declivity towards the Sacred Way.

On the left, the triumphal arch of Titus commemorates the fall of Jerusalem conquered and destroyed by that prince in the year 70 A.D. after more than three years of ferocious war. Beyond, there are the imposing ruins of the temple of Venus and Roma; in the back-ground the Colosseum, and, to the right, an important group of ruins of immense historic and religious value.

Fig. V.

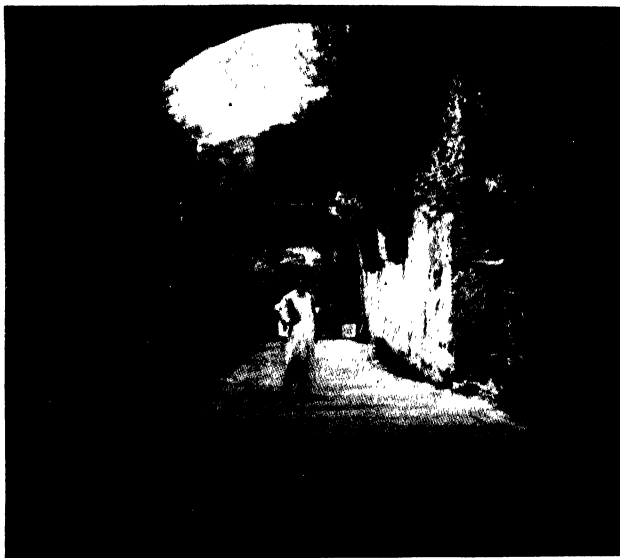
(From a photo by Morpurgo).



The *clivus Sacer*.

Fig. VI.

(From a photo by Troili).



The cryptoporticus of Caligula.

Historians make mention of an ancient temple on the Velia dedicated to the Penates (DION. HALIC. *Arch.* I 67), - mentioned also on 67 B.C. (LIV. XLV 16), - and of that one dedicated to the Lares, which is also *in summa Sacra Via* one of the most venerable Roman sacrariums, later reconstructed by Augustus (IUL. OBS. 101; *Res gestae divi Aug.* IV 19-21 lat.).

Very near to the arch of Titus, and a little past the corner of the other clivus which branches off from the Sacred Way, appear some imposing constructions in tufa and brick blocks which must have been connected with a very ancient edifice. Perhaps these are the remains of the temple of Juppiter Stator (Jupiter the Stayer) supposed by topographers to have been erected in this neighbourhood.

In the struggle broken out between the Romans and Sabines because of the rape of the Sabine women which took place in the Murcia valley during the games dedicated to Consus, the Sabines having taken possession of the Capitoline Hill, - as Livy narrates (I, 12), - repulsed the Romans as far as the *porta Mugonia*, which at this side formed at the times of Romulus, the entrance to the primitive city. Romulus, seeing its future destiny in

danger invoked Jupiter aloud in order to arrest the fugitive Romans, who at their king's cries, threw themselves upon the entering Sabines and the battle did not end until the unexpected interference of the raped women.

A magnificent legend of our country which will be kept alive for ever.

The temple of Jupiter the Stayer, promised by Romulus in the fear of impending defeat, was reedified in 296-294 B.C. by the censor M. Atilius Regulus conqueror of the Sannites (Liv. X 36, 37). According to Vitruvius it was adorned with six columns at the fore-part and with eleven ones at its long sides. It was in this temple that Cicero assembled the Senatus in 62 B.C. in order to expose the conspiracy L. S. Catilina was plotting to damage the Republic. A bad episode of the politics of those times which had its tragical epilogue shortly after in temple of Concordia and in the near Carcer Tullianum with the death of almost all the accomplices of Catilina. The temple of Jupiter Stator was burnt with many other monuments, in the neronian conflagration of the year 64 of the Christian era.

In the Middle-Ages a tower was built on

these ruins, named *Cartularia* after a byzantine magistracy, which is believed to have become afterwards an archive belonging to the Holy See. The tower was later connected with the fort here built by the Frangipani family, which extended from the temple of Venus and Roma to the Palatine. When the emperor of Germany, Frederic Barbarossa, on 1167, besieged Rome, the pope Alexander the Third, the future defender of the liberty of Italian communities against teutonic arrogance, took refuge in this feudal fortress.

And up here he was informed on the first of August that the German emperor had taken and set fire to the *Civitas Leonina*, had profaned and sacked St. Peter's where he installed the antipope Paschalis the Third and had his wife Beatrice crowned empress. Events following quickly the pope had to fly to Benevento. But about ten years later, Barbarossa on the 29 of May was defeated at Legnano by the Lombard communities which had formed an alliance with the pope Alexander III.

In this stronghold, the ruins of which

rest upon those of republican and imperial constructions, had already been imprisoned, on 1118, the pope Gelasius II. After various events, this group of fortifications was thrown down on 1257 by senator Brancaione in his struggle against the Guelfs. The last remains which were supported by the arch of Titus, disappeared when this arch was isolated in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

On 2 February 1918, the Director of the excavation comm. Giacomo Boni, among the ruins of the stronghold of that Frangipani family, from whom the Absburgo family pretend to have their descent, discovered a *Nike* (Victory) perfectly carved in marble, of the sixth century B.C. "Let us accept," so the distinguished archæologist wrote "as an omen, this white marble *Victory* which from the sad enclosure of the *Turris Iniquitatis*, comes to life on the fascinating Palatine." Less than one year after the coalition of the Central Powers broke up; Austria suffering enormous defeat; Trent and Triest given back to Italy their mother-country.



Passing between the *domus Caligulana* and the group of imperial and medieval ruins, we reach another roman road paved with siliceous polygons. The *Summa Via Nova* leads into this *clivus* which begins from the *Summa Sacra Via* and was justly called *clivus Sacer* (fig. V).

Martial, perhaps, alludes to it when he says that the *clivus Sacer* led to the "venerable palaces" (*Epigr.* I 71, 5). The *clivus Apollinis*, which led to the group of the Augustan buildings, must have had its beginning from this *clivus*.

In this neighbourhood must have been, in distant ages, the dwelling of the king Tarquinius Priscus, between the temple of Juppiter Stator and the *Porta Mugonia*. To the right of this *clivus*, under the ruins of the medieval castle, the remains are visible of an ancient construction which has been already attributed to the temple of Juppiter Stator, and which might, on the contrary, be the temple of victory.

Finally others seem to see in them the

remains of an unknown sacrarium. Near here was certainly the ancient *Porta Mugonia*, which was later called "the ancient gate of the Palatine," - *porta vetus Palatii* -, mentioned also by Ovid (*Trist.* III I, 31); there is mention in some mediaeval documents of the *ascensa Palatii*. Just in front of the colossal ruins of the overturned *Turris Iniquitatis* came to light, a short time ago, the pillars of a large arch crossing over the *clivus Sacer* which is supposed to have been built in the 1st century of Christian era.

The large area, at this moment entirely upset by exploring excavations and covered by ruins belonging to various epochs, is the ancient "Palatine area" at the end of which the imposing remains of the façade of that building called by topographers "Flavian palace" rise. According to Martial (*Epigr.* VIII, 36) this imperial dwelling must have been most sumptuous, and in relation to it the aulic poet wrote that "although it seemed to reach the sky with its summit, it was unequal to the greatness of its master Domitian;" and that "it was

famous not only for its dimension and the sumptuousness of its more than a hundred columns, but especially for the fact that it was able to receive and to sustain a whole Olympus of Gods " (STAT. *Sylv.* IV 11, 18-20).

From the rich colonnade adorning its façade the whole Palatine area was overlooked. To give an idea of its sumptuousness we must remember that, when Bianchini began the excavations at this part of the Palatine by the order of Francis I duke of Parma and Placentia (1720-26), the two magnificent columns of giallo antico which flanked the great door, were sold to the stone-workers Perini e Maciucchi for 3000 roman crowns (about 600 pounds sterling); the block of grecian marble on the threshold was of such dimensions and thickness, that it was converted into a table for the high altar of the Pantheon (*S. Maria ad Martyres*). Nor were these the only manumissions and dispersions which we have to deplore in that first period of researches. But we shall speak again about this *domus* when we accompany the visitor there. (LANCIANI, *The ruins and excavations of ancient Rome*, p. 159).

IV.

Gaius Cæsar Caligula – His death – Tragic vicissitudes of his family and ironies of history – A celebrated crypto-porticus, the statue of Pompey and the so called house of Germanicus.

Gaius Caligula, son of the great Germanicus, nephew of Tiberius, survived the slaughter of his family together with Agrippina Junior. The dying Tiberius said of him that he left to the Roman people “a serpent to devour them and a Phaeton to burn them.” Seneca later wrote that “nature had created him, almost to show what atrocious crimes a person endowed with an unlimited power, is able to commit”. Pliny, Juvenal and others found a pretext for the cruelties of this emperor in a very strange love potion which his wife Caesonia administered to him in order to bind him to her with an invincible love (PLIN. *Nat. hist.* VIII 42; JUV. *Sat.* VI 614 sqq.). He was a debauchee, cruel, incestuous and a thief, yet he expected to be adored as a god. After having created Pontifex his horse *Incitatus* he was about to name it Consul, when he lost his life in a conspiracy (JOSEPH FLAV. *Ant. Jud.* XIX 1 sqq.).

On the 24th of January A.D. 41, the emperor was present at the *ludi Palatini* which Livia had instituted in honor of Augustus and which were usually performed in a wooden theatre on the Palatine area. Caligula was enjoying the rowdy and clamorous concourse of people,

and he seemed to have forgotten his usual bath and dinner. The conspirators were in suspense fearing for the secrecy of the conspiracy. In fact as soon as Senator Vatinius arrived, he asked Cluvius Rufus the historian what was going to be represented that day. "The death of a tyrant," answered the latter readily. And Vatinius, who understood, begged him to hold his tongue. The emperor was finally persuaded by Asprena to go and have his bath and dinner. From the confused and minutely detailed accounts of Flavius (*Ant. Jud.* XIX 14, sqq.), Svetonius (*Cal.* 58) and others we shall reconstruct the tragic scene in a few words.

Having distracted the attention of the crowd and the escort, the conspirators surrounded the emperor as though to protect him pretending to flatter him; and he, instead of going to his rooms through the state court-yard of his palace, turned into a covered passage where a number of young men from Asia were awaiting him together with their pedagogue.

They were supposed to dance before the emperor, and though the pedagogue had objected that it was rather too cold, Caligula forced them to dance. According to historians there are here two versions. Some narrate that Cherea, tribune of the Prætorian cohort wounded him in the back of the head, shouting: "Look out!" whilst the tribune Cornelius Sabinus wounded him in the breast. Others say that Sabinus asked him the password for the day, and on G. Caligula replying "Jupiter," Cherea smashing his jaw with a blow of his sword, answered: "Yes, his curse be on you!" Then all the

conspirators fell upon him while he was lying on the ground, all doubled up and protesting that he was still alive (SUET. *ibidem*). Thirty wounds were inflicted upon him before he died while his assailants kept on crying to each other: "Kill him!"

No better lot befell the empress and Caligula's little daughter. The bleeding corpse, abandoned by every one, lay where it fell, and Suetonius, always fond of cruel and marvelous tales, adds that the spectre of Caligula haunted the palace until someone, moved by pity, removed his remains.

This was the end of Gaius Caligula, whose family seemed destined to a tragic fate. Germanicus, his father, died regretted by all, in Syria, A.D. 19. It is suspected that he was poisoned by Piso and Plancina by order of Tiberius. Agrippina Senior, his mother, daughter of M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the builder of the Pantheon, was exiled to Pandataria by order of Tiberius, who began to suspect her at the instigation of Seianus and died there of starvation, A.D. 33. Both Nero and Drusus, brothers of Caligula likewise died in prison of starvation. Agrippina Junior, his sister, and later on, the wife of emperor Claudius, was killed in the year 59 by her son Domitius Nero, who had since become emperor, and who was her son by her first husband Domitius Enobarbus.

A curious fact is that the tomb-stone of the unfortunate Agrippina Senior, which is preserved in the courtyard of the 'Palazzo dei Conservatori' on the Capitol was turned into a corn-measure in the Middle-Ages. A posthumous inscription upon it says: "Strange irony of Fate! the tomb-stone of her who died of starvation was used in later times as a corn-measure!"



And here we are, most likely on the very spot where the frightful scene, we have just related, took place (*fig. VI*). We say "most likely" because other cryptoporticoes and covered passages have been brought to light by recent excavations.

From the Palatine area, just behind the ruins of the castle of Frangipani and below the palace of Caligula, begins a long cryptoportico with various ramifications and ruins of staircases leading to upper floors; after having traversed the area lengthwise, past a new ramification to the left, it proceeds towards the so-called "Flavian palace" and opens on the area of an ancient Roman house with paintings of the most artistic period.

As well as the topographical indications of J. Flavius and Suetonius which seem to eliminate every doubt about the identity of the spots, another particular not to be neglected induces us to conclude that just in this cryptoporticus Caligula was mur-

dered. Historians add that the assailants, after having accomplished the murder, fearing for their own safety, concealed themselves in the house of Germanicus, from which they escaped later. So the graceful *domus romana* we see at the bottom of the cryptoporticus, was called, not very unreasonably, perhaps, the "house of Germanicus." Though we admitt its identity with the spot of the tragic scene of January 24th A. D. 41, we cannot help laughing at that peripatetic illustrator wo was able to show his auditors some red stains which he absolutely pretended to be still visible upon the wall of the cryptoporticus. Likewise some say the same thing of the pedestal of Pompey's statue in the Palazzo Spada, at the foot of which Caesar is supposed to have been killed in the *Curia Pompeiana*. The best of it is that the pedestal is of a posterior age, and the statue was found under Julius the IIIrd at the Vicolo Leutari, not far from the Curia in question.

The corridor we are now following was formerly lit from the Palatine area, and

here and there it has some remains of the ancient pavement in *opus spicatum* and mosaic. The vault, in some places, is still adorned by fine stuccos. Two staircases, of which one is still obstructed in part, lead to the upper floor of that mass of constructions still covered with earth, attributed by many topographers to the palace of Tiberius. Here and there some fragment of ancient sculpture and ornamental remains of various ages and of very little value, are visible.

V.

Hereditary palace of Tiberius, or house of Livia or of Germanicus? - Augustus and a son three months old - More about the palace of Tiberius - M. Anthoninus Pius, M. Aurelius and L. Verus - Tiberius in the Middle-Ages - Description of the "Domus" and its paintings - Do these paintings commemorate some episodes of the life of Augustus and of the "gens Claudia?"

Few monuments have had so many denominations as the tiny and elegant *domus* at the end of the cryptoporticus of Cali-

gula, discovered in 1868. Only the walls of four rooms are still standing. They were formerly adorned with splendid paintings now almost completely effaced and of which but few remains are visible.

This *domus* was then called by scholars the "hereditary house of Tiberius," "of Livia," and "of Germanicus." There have been many discussions in order to assign the property exclusively to each of the above mentioned persons, who, at any rate, belong all to the same family.

Suetonius says (*Tiber.* 5) that Tiberius Caesar was born on the Palatine. His father Tiberius Claudius Nero, as soon as he had a son by Livia Drusilla, gave her as wife to Caesar Octavianus who, in 38 B. C. married her still pregnant of Drusus.

The birth of this prince, occurred only three months after the new marriage, caused in the city the most lively and witty critiques. A son after only three months marriage! It is not a thing which happens every day! It happened, however, to Caesar Octavianus, the future despot of the world (Suet. *Claud.* 1). And precisely

from this Drusus, who immortalized himself at the German wars, and from Anthonia Junior that Germanicus, father of Caligula and the ill famed and unfortunate emperor Claudius, were born. The house in question, then, which belonged to Tiberius Claudius Nero, and which became, at first, the property of Livia, and later, perhaps, of Germanicus, may have been remembered by various writers under this triple denomination. It easily understood, therefore, for what reason some thought to recognise in this *domus* the house of Germanicus, according to the narration of Suetonius who says that the murderers of Caligula saved themselves by running through it.

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The topographical question, however, becomes still more difficult. We have already informed our readers that Suetonius (*Tiber.* 47), Dion Cassius (*Hist.* LVII 10) and Tacitus (*Ann.* VI 45) assure us that Tiberius did not embellish Rome with bulky buildings. Both the temple of Augustus and the restoration of Pompey's theatre

have been left unfinished by him: *Princeps neque opera ulla magnifica fecit et quae sola suscepit, id est Augusti templum restitutionemque Pompeiani theatri imperfecta post tot annos reliquit* (Suet. ib.).

Where is, then, the magnificent and sumptuous palace of Tiberius which is supposed to have led, from the *clivus Victoriae*, near the place where now we are, and to have been below the luxuriant gardens of the Farnese family? The hereditary house "of Tiberius," "of Livia," or "of Germanicus," - as you like to call it, may have been one and the same building which, as Plutarch says (*Galba* 24) "has been called house of Tiberius." The name of *domus Tiberiana* prevailing over the others, the house was known and frequently mentioned by this title.

The *bibliotheca* existing in the *domus Tiberiana* which Vopiscus and others speak of, was, perhaps, for the emperor's private use. We know that for use of studious people, besides many other libraries existing in the city, there was, on the Palatine, the rich one collected by Caesar Augustus.

Fig. VII.



Fig. VIII.

(From a photo by Mosconi).

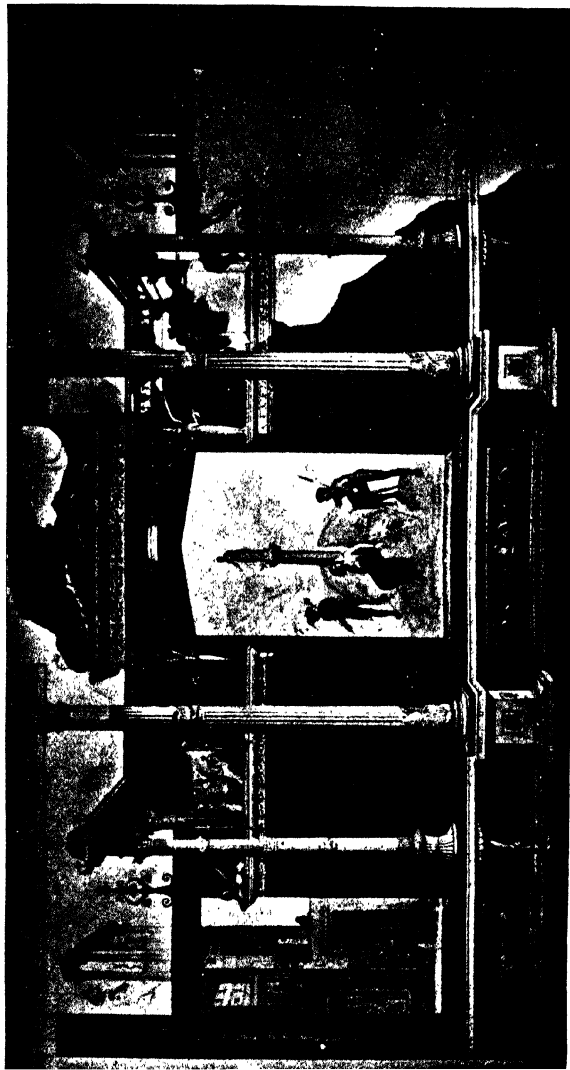
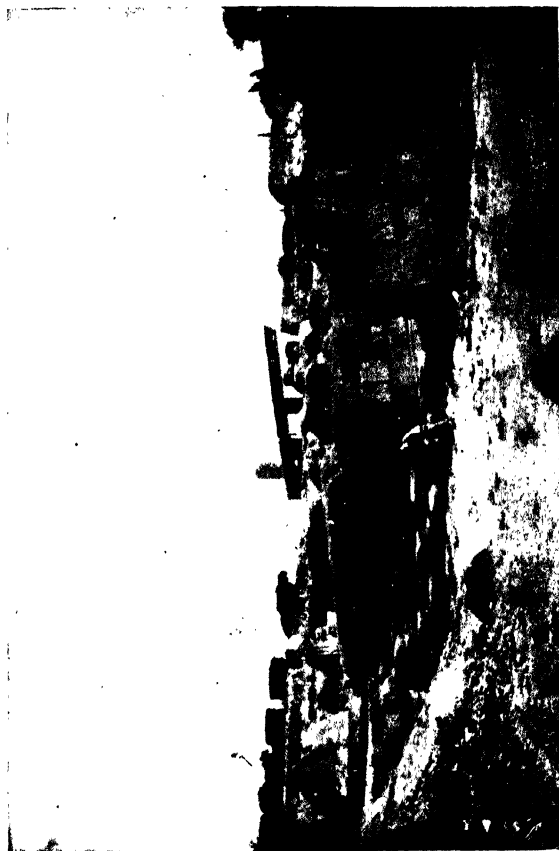


Fig. IX.

(From a photo by Mosconi).



This *domus*, then, might also be the same which Antoninus Pius - according to Capitolinus - inhabited later. So the kind-hearted Marcus Aurelius, the philosophic emperor, lived some time there as in a quiet refuge (138-147 A. D.). He had been called here by the old Antoninus Pius who would have clothed him with the imperial robes (*M. Anton.* 6).

In the same house, and always according to Capitolinus, Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius' adoptive brother, received his useless education (*Verus imp.* 2).

Suetonius, moreover refers, that Tiberius spent the most of his days at Capri or in other places, leading a rather dissolute life, and in twenty three years of Empire, he remained in Rome but two consecutive years. This fatal and hated man who in the ignoble recesses of Capri squandered huge patrimonies in the lowest abodes on pleasure and in the pursuit of wickedness, was in the Middle-Ages considered as a penitent, clothed with a sack and covered by ashes, weeping before the "Holy Winding-sheet" of Christ, which was per-

sistently said to have been sent him from the East by Publius Lentulus after the death of our Lord. A curious legend which connected the remembrance of the bad and deceitful emperor to the Veronica and also to one of the most venerated relics of the Vatican Basilica (A. D. 14-37).



Now we will go down and visit this *domus* which we have spoken of so much.

In regard to the distribution of the apartments it is quite different from the classical type of the *domus Romana*. Through a little lateral entrance with a mosaic pavement we enter a testudineous atrium, already roofed in. To the left we see the remains of an altar or of a *lararium* for the protecting goddesses of the house. Three rooms open before the visitor, with the modern marble inscriptions: *tablinum*, on the central one; *ala dextra* and *ala sinistra* on the two lateral ones.

The walls of the left hall, all painted in red, are divided into compartments by some elegant and slender little columns of com-

posite order, adorned with vine-tendrils, leaves of ivy, and friezes on a yellow ground. Above, upon a white background, some couples of winged genii, among herbaceous-stems of a very elegant composition. The socle is an imitation of various marbles. Professor Marucchi and others have already observed that this kind of art, -wrongly called Pompeian style, ought to be called, on the contrary, "classic roman" being common to all the ancient Roman houses from which it was later brought into the sumptuous sepulchral rooms of the catacombs.

In the right hall (*Fig. VII*), the walls painted to imitate marble, are adorned with magnificent garlands of flowers and fruits from which masks and other Bacchanalian objects depending between little columns of corinthian order induced some scholars to recognise in this hall the "lararium" or domestic chapel, where, among other sacred objects, were kept the waxen images of ancestors, *imagines maiorum*, already venerated as tutelar gods of the house. This custom probably derived from the remote one of the primitive Latins who

buried under the fireplace of their own cottages the ashes of their beloved relations.

Many other religious paintings, on a background representing sea-views and landscapes, are visible here and there in the scenography on a yellow ground painted on the border along the wall above the festoons. Though these paintings have become pale and here and there have almost disappeared, an attentive and patient visitor can recognize, by means of good lenses, some allusions and scenes hinting at the most licentious episodes of ancient mythology.

*
* *

Of much more interest are the paintings of the central room, the *tablinum*, which might be compared with our modern drawing-rooms. But unfortunately this excellent specimen of ancient art has been almost completely destroyed by time and by the bureaucratic carelessness of preceding administrations.

Also this room is adorned with strange little columns of a composite order and

paintings in the panels, of the most artistic greco-roman period. In the large panel of the bottom-wall, the artist represented the mythologic episode of Galatea and Polyphemus and the death of Acy, which Ovid speaks of in his *Metamorphoses* (XIII, viii). The painting has completely disappeared, but after the numerous reproductions made a little after it had been discovered, we are able to reconstruct its details.

Giant Polyphemus, the despised lover of the Nymph Galatea, after having crushed his abhorred rival Acy under a massive stone, pursues, on the waves, the Nereid running away on the back of an hippocampus. Two other terrified nymphs, swimming not far off, seem to indicate to the girl the giant who appears behind the massive stone with which Acy had been crushed. In order to show the strong love of Polyphemus, the artist had painted on the left shoulder of the cyclop a wingless little genius, Love, who guided him with two little reins.

The other mythological episode on the right wall (*Fig. VIII*) is also taken from Ovid' *Metamorphoses* (I x).

The fascinating Io, daughter of the river Hynacus, beloved by Jupiter, is kidnapped by him and transformed into a heifer, in order that Juno should not suspect the

latest infidelity of her divine spouse. But the goddess who perceived the truth by intuition asks Jupiter for the heifer as a present. Jupiter consents and Juno charges the hundred-eyed giant Argus to take care of the heifer. Jupiter, shuddering for the lot of the young girl Io, commands Mercury to put Argus to sleep and kill him. Juno, irritated at the death of the giant, promises herself vengeance. So Io, the heifer, after having wandered up and down always persecuted by the jealous goddess, reaches, finally, the banks of the Nile. The painful lowing of the unlucky goddess, moves Jupiter who, with promises and flattery is able to appease Juno and to obtain her pardon. And the mythical heifer, having recovered her ancient aspect, is worshipped by Egyptians under the name of Isis, as Ovid concludes:

Nunc dea niligena colitur celeberrima turba.

The painter, certainly a Greek, represented Io as a fascinating girl sitting on a stone, and, in order to remember her strange metamorphosis, adorned her head with... two little horns. Argus, the hundred-eyed giant is represented by a youth armed with sword and spear, and with a spotted leopard-skin over his arm. On the left is Mercury, approaching cautiously. The simulacrum of Juno, standing upon a pillar dominates the scene.

But the artist, in order that the subject may be more comprehensible wrote, in Greek, *Hermes* under the picture of Mercury, *Io* and *Argos* under the other personages. These inscriptions, which were visible enough until few years ago, have, now, completely disappeared.



Much more difficult to explain are the paintings of the bottom panel, above, to the right, and of the other much impaired panels, on the wall upon which the fable of the Nereid *Io* was represented.

At the end of the room, in the little panel above, to the right, probably an initiation ceremony is represented, for it is almost impossible, as some supposed, that the artist has painted the episode of the vestal Aemilia. It is said that, in order to save one of her *alumnae* from serious punishments, after having prayed the goddess Vesta, she miraculously lit again in the temple of the Forum, the Sacred Fire by simply touching the extinguished ashes with the hem of her stole (VAL. MAX. *Dict.*

Fact. mem. I 1, 7; DION. HAL. *Arch.* II 68). It seems impossible that the souvenir of a legendary episode of the *gens Aemilia* should be painted in a *domus* where, instead, everything seems related to the *gens Claudia* and to Augustus.

And certainly not without some reason the painter reproduced in the room near the ornamental attributes and the rites of Cybele whose temple near, as we shall see later, may be called a noble monument of the *gens Claudia*.

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A round building appears now above, in the painting round the corner of the wall on the right (*Fig. VIII*). Is that the round temple of Vesta?

A girl is about to reenter her home; above, some people are looking at her, as if anxiously expecting her. Is she Quinta Claudia, the Vestal, coming from Ostia where she had been to meet the simulacrum of Cybele, whose miraculous intervention saved her from a scandalous accusation and an ignominious death? Or another

Claudia, also a Vestal coming from the triumphal train of her father or brother Appius Claudius Pulcher who, beaten, at first, by the alpine people of the *Salassi* in the year 143 B. C., after having conquered them, was possessed by the desire of celebrating his own triumph, against the will itself of the Roman people? And we know that the girl, in order to save her relative from the consequences of his audacious action, took a seat on the triumphal chariot and accompanied him up to the Capitol. She protected him even from the violence of a tribune (CIC. *Pro Coelio* 34; VAL. MAX. *Dict.* etc. V 4, 6; SUET. *Tiber* 2). Or is she Livia who, *accompanied* by little Tiberius, *enters* the house of Augustus?

And another round building is also visible above, at the other corner of the wall, over the door.

So in the little panel to the left of the "fable of Io," in the graceful scene of the "domestic sacrifice" is the sitting woman Livia Drusilla, the cunning wife of the good tempered Tiberius Claudius Nero and, later, of Caesar Octavianus Augustus? And,

finally, the artistic " sphynxes " the representation itself of the " fable of Io," the Nereid later adored by Egyptians under the aspect and the attributions of Isis, may be a remembrance, an allusion perhaps, to the triumph of Caesar Octavianus over Cleopatra and Anthony and to the subsequent work of the lucky despot so that fruitful Egypt became the granary of the Roman people? (Suet. *Oct.* 18).

Let us study and try to explain these questions.

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Three leaden water-pipes on the left wall attest the restorations effected in the building. On one of them, we read, in Latin: " Hinuus, our Caesar's servant, made under the charge of Euthychius freed-man and prosecutor of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus. " This is to be referred to the years 81-96 of Christian Era. The name of *Iulia* scratched on the other water-pipe may remember Julia, daughter of Titus or Julia Domna Augusta, wife of Septimius Severus. The freed-man mentioned

on the third water-pipe is, perhaps, that *Pescennius Niger* who, in the year 193 A. D., contended for the Empire with Septimius Severus. A restoration, therefore may have been executed about this epoch.

The fourth room, the *Triclinum* is not less interesting than the others. It has the walls painted bright red with trophies and sacred emblems alluding to the worship of Diana and Apollo. On the corners of the left wall are two beautiful glass-vases with water and fruits.

Close by is a room; perhaps a *cella vinaria* or cellar.

At the lateral side of the *domus* we have now described, there are other rooms with a staircaise leading to the destroyed upper floors; a little peristyle enclosed by other rooms, the whole connected with the atrium by a narrow corridor. At the end of the peristyle, a subterraneous passage later closed by Domitian's constructions, leads to the area occupied by the Flavian palace. Other covered ways are separated from this corridor; and one of them descends into the *lautumiae* of the hill, towards the

so called temple of Jupiter Victor. From these *lautumiae* the building material was taken for the most ancient constructions of the area we are going to visit. It is a veritable subterranean vault which, as inside the Capitol, extends underground with galleries, and wells more or less coeval with the first origins of Rome, and which because of their imposing and picturesque effect, are quite different from the narrow Christian cemeterial galleries of the suburban territory.

VI.

The area consecrated to the Founder - A prehistoric cistern and the hygiene among the ancients - The "hut of Faustulus," that of Romulus and the "fifth Sacrum of the Argives" - A protectress of the domestic peace - An unknown ruin and the temple of Cybele.

As soon as we quit this graceful *domus*, we are on the summit of that side of the hill which was called *Germalus* and which overlooks the valley of the Velabrum and that of the Circus Maximus (*Fig. IX*). On

this S.-W. corner of the Palatine there were the most venerable monuments for antiquity and religion, as the *hut* or *cottage of Faustus*, the shepherd who found the twin infants Romulus and Remus exposed on the bank of the turgid river, at the foot of the *Germalus*; a monument which might be either the cottage or the temple of the mythical founder; the staircases of *Cacus* or *Cacius*, so called perhaps, from the name of a member of the Collegium of the Potitii to whom the worship of Hercules was confided, or from the name of the thief killed by Hercules himself; the *fifth Sacrum of the Argives*, ancient heroes perhaps, later become protecting genii of the quarters of the city. Festus says: "Some places of Rome where some illustrious Argives are buried are called *Argei*" and these, according to Varro, accompanied Hercules into the Latium. The Vestals threw some dolls from the Sublician bridge every year, in order to commemorate these heroes. This very strange rite might resemble certainly, the human sacrifices used in past ages.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus speaks of a *Sacrarium Martis* where, the "lituum" or augur's wand of Romulus was said to be guarded. Plutarch says that this "lituum" is supposed to have been firstly religiously guarded on the Palatine. When Rome fell into the hands of the Gauls (390 B. C.), the *lituum* was lost. But after their expulsion, it was found intact among ruins and ashes (*Romul.* 22). From that moment the mythical relic was considered as the symbol "of the perpetual incolumity of Rome" (*Cam.* 32).

The much discussed origins of Rome were in accord with these legendary tales; civil and religious monuments from which emanated the fascination of the high, foretold destinies of eternal Rome, and which in the mysterious solemnity of their archaic lines made a strange contrast, - in the most glorious imperial period, - with the splendour of the marbles and the artistic bronzes of the superb moles which surrounded them.

It is almost impossible to recognise the remains which cover this side of the Palatine hill. Here the hypothesis is more difficult and hard than elsewhere!



Just to the left of the house we have now visited we observe the remains of a very ancient cistern built with blocks of tufa of much smaller dimensions than those used in the surrounding constructions. This would testify to an epoch wanting in mechanical means.

In 1896, when this cistern was discovered, its exterior part seemed to be protected by a thick recovering of argil, and the interior one by a stratum of stucco, certainly to protect the water from possible dangerous infiltrations. The water filtered through a sandy botton of some porous material and flowed into a lateral little well, raised above the level. And from this little well the water necessary to life was drawn up. Professor Marucchi in his *Guide du Palatin* justly observes that "this particular may persuade our modern hygienists to be a little more modest." Later, the upper portion of the cistern was destroyed and intersected by another construction in *opus quadratum*, for which large blocks of tufa

were employed. The cistern, undoubtedly anterior to the building in question, is to be referred to very remote times, to those, perhaps, which preceded the installation of the Latian colony on the hill, so that it completely disappeared under the much more later construction in *opus quadratum*. For what possible reason did the builders of the *domus paterna Tiberiana*, which we have already studied, sacrifice the architectural development on this side, if not for the existence of notable historic remains of a religious-politic monument, sacred in the mind of those ages? So many thought to recognise in this construction before the *domus*, near to the archaic cistern, an enclosure in which a poor rustic cottage was to be seen recording that ancient one formerly inhabited by the founder and his adoptive father Faustulus. Plutarch opportunely refers that Romulus lived near the "steps of the Beautiful Steep place (*gradus pulchri Littoris*) on the slope which goes towards the Circus Maximus from the Palatine" (*Romul.* 20); according to Dionysius of Halicarnassus this cottage was at the side of the Hill between the Ve-

Fig. X. *(From a drawing by Boni).*



An Italic cottage.

Fig. XI.

(From a photo by Mosconi).



labrum and the Circus, or, rather, at the side of the Palatine overlooking the Circus, and he adds that those who had the care of it only restored it maintaining its shape and form without adding any ornament. (*Arch.* I 79). The *Regionary Catalogue* (Reg. X), puts it near the temple of Cybele; and Varro (*De ling. Lat.* V 54) near the house of Romulus, *apud aedem Romuli*, puts the *Germalense quinticeps* or the "fifth Sacrarium of Argives".

If the "cottage of Romulus" or "hut of Faustulus" was also known by the name of "temple of Romulus" that derived from the memories it was preserving or from other reasons unknown to us. In this neighbourhood a temple to Bacchus is also mentioned, quoted by Martial (*Epigr.* I 71, 9), and another dedicated to the goddess Fever, in order to dispel her evil power which was manifested by the deadly miasma of the marshes laying beneath when

... ancor lambiva il Tebro

l'Evandrio colle (1).

(CARDUCCI, *Innanzi alle terme di Caracalla*).

(1) «... when the Tiber was still lapping the hill of Evander».

On this spot of the Hill, it arose also a temple of the goddess *Viriplaca* or "appeaser of husbands," the beneficent guardian of domestic peace invoked by ancient Roman wives, when they like some modern ones came to blows because of the bad temper of their companion in the... *ménage*. And, perhaps, no other Goddess undertook so many hard tasks as the good and peaceful *Viriplaca*.

This is the group of monuments which covered this side of the *Germalus* and the remains of which cannot be identified. To give an idea of the Romulean cottage we reproduce (*Fig. X*) a typical example of the ancient Italic cottages, built on the Palatine by Comm. G. Boni.

Ovid, referring to the cottage of the Founder, sings

Aspice de canna straminibusque domum.

The words in archaic characters, - ARSE VERSE, - we read on the door, recall the deprecation made by primitive inhabitants to keep off fire.

Finally, always on this side, towards the

Circus Maximus and the Velabrum, a steep slope among intricate constructions in *opus quadratum* and masonry, shows us an ancient access to the Romulean city. Here were, then, the *steps of the Beautiful Steep Place* (*gradus pulchri Littoris*) which as we have already said, Plutarch speaks of in his *vita* of Romulus, or the otherwise called *sculae Caci* of Solinus, the staircases of *Cacus* or *Cacius* (*Polyhist.* I 18).



It is almost impossible to establish to which monument the group of masonry arising before the "*domus paterna Tiberiana*" (hereditary palace of Tiberius) is to be referred, and not all the topographers are in accord as to its identity. But, beyond this group, a high stylobate in *pietra albana* (peperino) and masonry arises, of a very ancient construction, against which a headless statue of a sitting woman and some remains of columns also in *pietra albana*, are leaning. A group of secular trees gives the monument a very picturesque aspect (*Fig. XI*).

The statue and inscription M·D·M·I· sculptured upon a near cippus help us to identify the monument: *M[agnae] D[eorum] M[atri] I[deae]*; "to Idea, great Mother of the Gods." The *Méter megále théa*, as the Greeks called her, was also known by the name of Cybele. She was venerated with orgiastic rites in the East, and she symbolised the mysterious procreating power that was diffusing life everywhere. And the headless statue we observe on a pedestal, leaning against the stylobate, has, in fact, all the characteristics of the famous Goddess.

We see her sitting upon a throne with arms with leonine head and feet, certainly in allusion to the belief which pictured the Goddess accompanied or drawn upon a carriage by lions. Another of her attributes, was the turreted diadem with which her head was certainly adorned. The type here reproduced seems to be the same created by Phidias when he concreted the ideal myth of Rhea Cybele.

The orientation of the edifice, - of which only the formless nucleus of the stylobate subsists, - and the remains in *pietra albana*

may give an idea of its great antiquity. Everything, then, induces us to believe it to be the temple of Cybele vowed about 204-5 during the war against Hannibal, built by the censors Marcus Livy Salinator and Caius Claudius Nero and dedicated about thirteen years after, on the 10th of April of the year 191 B. C. by Marcus Junius Brutus (Liv. XXXVI 36).

This temple restored or reconstructed by Augustus, as it is said in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (IV 8), and restored also by Pertinax in the year 192, according to the inscription on the side of the above mentioned cippus, seems to have always maintained its archaic and venerable aspect of a monument of the republican age. What precisely appears from the few remains in *pietra albana* seem to testify to its ancient and solemn origin because of which it was considered a noble monument of the Claudians.

And to this sacred edifice is to be referred one of the most brilliant feats of the republican age and the legend of the vestal Quinta Claudia.

VII.

Hannibal, Asdrubal, Caius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livy Salinator - The battle of the Methaurus-Tempests and "Libri Sibillini" (Sibylline Books) - The simulacre of Cybele at Ostia - The vestal Quinta Claudia - The "Cybele" of Pessinus in the temple of the Palatine - The "Galli," Cybele, Atys and St. Austin - The simulacre of Cybele and the "rapina sacrilega" (sacrilegious robbery) of Serena - Alaric and St. Jerome.

Since the year 219 B. C. the Republic had been menaced by important political events; to these was later added the fright caused by sudden meteoric phenomena. Hannibal was encamping, in the year 207, with his army not far from the Metapontum, previous to giving battle to the consul Caius Claudius Nero, and awaiting the reinforcements with which his brother Asdrubal had to furnish him. But in the mean time, the consul with a great number of soldiers hastened to the assistance of the other consul Marcus Livy Salinator who, at *Sena del Metauro* was keeping the army of Asdrubal at bay. The sanguinary battle which followed signalled the end of the Carthaginian power in Italy. When Hannibal saw his brother's head flung into his own camp by means of a catapult, he comprehended the disaster and understood that Fortune was turning her back on him; but, notwithstanding the great defeat they suffered, the

Carthaginian forces continued to be a serious danger for the lower Italy.

In the year 206 B. C. some violent cyclones pelted showers of stones which were considered as a punishment and a menace of worse calamities sent by the angry gods enemies of Rome. After having consulted the prophetic Sibylline Books, the priests said that as soon as the venerable simulacre of "the great Mother of the Gods" Rhea Cybele should have been brought from Pessinus, in Asia Minor, to Rome, Hannibal would have quitted Italy. Servius, the well known commentator of the *Aeneid*, told us in what this strange simulacre consisted (*In Aen.* VII, 188). He called it *acus matris Deum* and it was later considered – like the "augur's wand" of Romulus, the "Penates" of Aenea and the "Ancyles" – as one of the *pignora fatalia*, with which the destiny of Rome was strictly connected.

This simulacre seems to have been a silver or another metal statue having, – as the legend says, – a conical and deep brown siliceous stone fallen from heaven in place of the head; a meteoric stone, probably, which by the superstition of the age was worshipped as a gift of the gods.

Ovid, in the IVth book of his *Fasti*, gives us a description of the divinity and of its simulacre. Attalus, king of Phrygia refused to give the statue to the Roman notables sent to Pessinus to carry it away; but, having been later menaced, in a vision, with the punishments of the Goddess, he deigned to do so and the statue started for Rome, on board of a sacred ship built for

the purpose. But when the ship reached the mouth of the Tiber, where the Senatus, the priests and the people had hurried up to welcome the simulacre, it stranded on a sand-bank; the efforts made by the sailors and the people to raise it were useless. There was among others, a young girl of the *gens Claudia*, the *vestalis maxima* Quinta Claudia who had come there together with the vestal virgins. Some old fossils of those times suspected her of dishonesty because of the excessive care she was taking of her head-dress; a very unseemly thing for a Vestal who had taken the vow of chastity.

The poet has it that the girl at first, conscious of her own 'innocency, despised the lying accusations; but these were afterwards brought against her in such force that it required a miracle to save her from being condemned to be buried alive in the *Campus Sceleratus* (the Field of the Crime).

Whilst the people were fortelling the most sad calamities for the sudden stranding of the ship, the vestal came forward and having knelt down, thrice sprinkled her head with the water of the river, and thrice raised her suppliant hands to Heaven; and whilst every one thought she had gone out of her mind she turned to the simulacre of the Goddess with this prayer: "I have been declared guilty of umpurity. I will own to have deserved this accusation, if thou also condemnest me. But if thou believest I am pure, be my protectress and allow me to raise thy sacred ship with my pure hands." So prayed the vestal, and having grasped the cable of the ship she raised it without effort, while the multitude were cheering her loudly.

After many sacrifices and prayers of thanksgiving, the ship arrived to where the little river *Almone* flows into the Tiber; the simulacre and the utensils destined to the worship of Cybele were washed. This was the origin of the Megalesian festivals which were held, afterwards, on April 4 to honour Cybele.

The simulacre of the Goddess, placed upon a chariot drawn by oxen and preceded by the vestal Quinta Claudia, entered Rome and was placed in the temple of Victory (OVID, vv. 191-372).



The divinity was solemnly brought into the temple of Cybele which, dedicated in the year 563 of Rome (191 B. C.), was begun thirteen years before, on the Palatine, by Marcus Livy Salinator and Caius Claudius Nero. It was about twelve years since Hannibal had been beaten at Zama by Scipio the African, and seven years since Philip the Third, king of Macedonia had been beaten in Thessaly by the Romans.

Just for curiosity we shall add that of so many monuments which commemorated the episode of the vestal Quinta Claudia one cippus is still conserved in the *Musei Capitolini* dedicated to Cybele and to "*Navis*

Salvia" upon which we can see the ship with the simulacre of Cybele floated by the celebrated vestal Claudia. According to Cancogni the vestal was later venerated under the name of *Navis Salvia*, as a protecting genius of the navigation on the Tiber.

^{}*

The worship of Cybele was intrusted to a college of eunuchs or emasculated priests called *Metragyrtae* or *Galli* from Phrygia, from the name of the river Gallus the water of which, according to Ovid, had the sad power to arouse the fury of those who had drunk it. And these priests, shamefully mutilated, in their orgiastic rites, going through the streets of the city, were accustomed to strike themselves at the sound of fifes, cymbals, horns and timbrels. The emperor Helagabalus himself was not ashamed to make his appearance among them.

The feast in honour of Cybele and of the youth Atys was celebrated in the same manner; this priest beloved by the Goddess having broken his chastity vows became

mad, emasculated himself and died bitterly bewailed by the Goddess. From this episode the habit of the autoëmascation introduced among these priests, and that of the other ceremonies, were derived (MIN. FEL. *Oct.* 22, 24; TERT. *Apol.* 12, 15, 25; AUG. *De civ. Dei* VI 26).

And to prove that the temple of Cybele had been erected at public expense, we shall add that the priests themselves went round begging at all the doors until the latest times. And St. Austin, who died about 430, relates that at his time, *usque ad hesternum diem*, the sacred hymns were sung in the rites of the ancient worship of Rhea, which were still practised in some towns.

At any rate we must not forget that these orgiastic rites which had come from Phrygia to Rome, had been only received by the most corrupt and ignorant of the people.

* * *

The episode of the Phrygian Goddess, who, according to the legend saved Rome from the fury of Hannibal, is connected with the

tragic death of Serena, niece of the emperor Theodosius the Great (379-395 A.D.) and wife of Stilicone, the hero who, with three memorable battles at Arcadia, Pollenzo and Florence saved the Empire of the West from Alaric and his Goths and from the Germans under Radagasius, and who was killed by order of the emperor Honorius in the year 408. In the same year Alaric moved once more against Rome. The pagan historian Zosimus (*Hist. n^éa* V) writes as follows:

Whilst Alaric was besieging, Rome, the Assembly suspected Serena of secret connivance with the barbarians. The senators and Claudia herself, the half sister of the Emperor thought of putting Serena to death, hoping that her execution would induce Alaric to leave Rome. But it was an unjust suspicion, for Serena had never dreamed of opening the gates of the city to the enemy; but she had blasphemed against the Gods and she was doomed to expiate her faults, as I shall here relate. When Theodosius the Senior entered Rome he shattered the tyranny of Eugenius, expelled priests and priestesses from the temples, and closed them. Serena, who was taking great pleasure in all this, desired to go and examine the shrine of the "Great Mother of the Gods," and having seen a precious necklace which still ornamented

the neck of the Goddess, took possession of it, and clasped it round her own neck. An old woman, the last surviving vestal, who witnessed the sacrilege, harshly reproached Serena and predicted that she and her husband would surely expiate the profanation. At first the princess, captivated by the beauty of the necklace, took no notice of the terrible malediction and came out of the temple. But her mind was unceasingly tormented by the thought that the words of the old vestal might come true, as really happened: the sacrilegist Princess died by strangulation!

But the fate of Rome was signed! The Senate, having payed a heavy ransom, repulsed once more the barbarians; but in the year 410 Alaric besieged Rome again and took possession of it on August 24th.

The city was ferociously sacked, and st. Jerome, from the hermitage of Bethlehem, sorrowfully wrote: «I am overwhelmed with grief; the city which dominated the world is at the mercy of the barbarians!» (Ep. CXXVII, *ad Princip.*).

VIII.

More about the palace of Tiberius – The imperial “viridaria” – An ancient opinion of P. Rosa accepted by Alessandro Capannari – A gallant of “difficult taste” – The Farnese Gardens and the “Arcadia” – The Palatine and the vandals of our own country.

Before we visit the remains of the pleasant Farnese Garden, which is entered by a modern staircase, let us glance over the little vaulted cells, set in a line to the right between the temple of Cybele and the first century house. They have been attributed to the back portion of the *domus* or palace of Tiberius supposed by some to have extended, together with the *domus Caligulana*, from the *clivus Victoriae* until here, but, as we have already informed our readers, Suetonius assures us that “Tiberius never embellished Rome with buildings.” Moreover a staircase branching off from the *clivus Victoriae*, after having led into a row of rooms supposed to belong to some constructions of the emperor Com-

modus, leads steeply and directly, without any other communication, up to the garden; and the topographical fragment of this side of the Palatine conserved in the 'Palazzo dei Conservatori,' immediately after the Clivus, comes close upon some constructions of Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla, unless it should refer to already preexisting buildings, restored or transformed by these two emperors. We do not know what discoveries may be made by further excavations; but some partial tests here and there show us that the Antonini, taking advantage of anterior works, laid out a large and magnificent terrace for one of those sumptuous hanging gardens so common in ancient times, in the area formerly supposed to have been occupied by the palace of Tiberius. These hanging gardens were kept splendidly and with sumptuous oriental taste by the subsequent emperors and especially by Helagabalus who, - according to the *Historia Augusta* (AEL. LAMPR. *Ant. Heliog.* 18 sqq.), - was so fond of flowers as to scatter them everywhere; flowers were also employed by him to kill by as-

phyxia with their perfume the poor parasites at his table.

He was brazen faced enough to order that during the summer, a great deal of snow be carried from distant places into his garden: *Montem nivium in viridario domus aestate fecit advectis nivibus.*

* * *

Also the clever and regretted Alessandro Capannari, following, in one of his writings (*La casa di Tiberio sul Palatino*), Rosa's opinion (*Plains et peintures de la maison paternelle de Tibère*), proved that the *domus Tiberiana* is to be recognised in the *domus* of the first century we have already described. The arguments adduced by the Roman archæologist seem to obtain a new confirmation. And if anybody objects that Suetonius refers (*Aul. Vitell.* 15) that Vitellius banquetting in the "domus Tiberiana" saw the burning of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol during the struggle between Vitellians and Flavians, the writer will answer that we see, now, only the ground portion of the house and we ignore

Fig. XII.

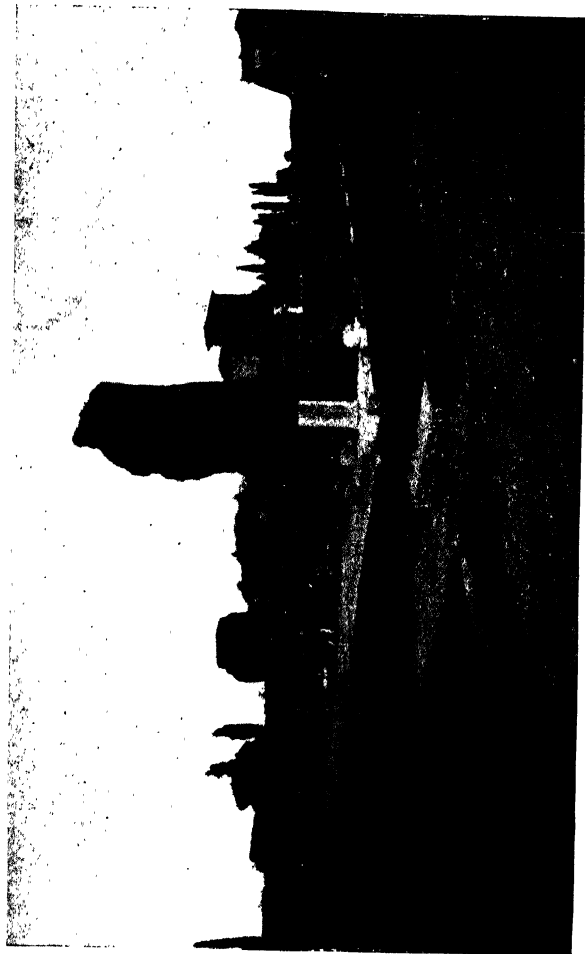
(From a photo by Moscioni).



The temple of Juppiter Victor.

Fig. XIII.

(From a photo by Moscioui).



therefore, its primitive height. Which, according to the habit of those times, was so great as to surpass the floor of the near *viridarium* and to allow the emperor to overlook the scene. In fact, as we can easily observe, the little peristyle behind the rooms with paintings is at a higher level than the floor of these same rooms.

Moreover, our opinion is not contradicted by the narration of Tacitus (*Hist.* III 84), in which he refers that the emperor Vitellius, - as soon as Rome was occupied by the Flavians during the military revolt which put Vespasian in possession of the throne, - fled to the Aventine passing through "the *posterior* side of the *Palace*." Tacitus, perhaps, here alludes to the *domus Augustana* or the *Caligulana* one, if not to the word *Palatium*, antonomastically used to design the whole of the imperial buildings. In another passage Tacitus also relates (*Hist.* I 27) that Otho, - having left the betrayed Galba hearing before the altar of Apollo the sad presages of the aruspex Umbricius, - accompanied by the freedman Onomastus, passing through the house

of Tiberius, - *per Tiberianam domum*, - and the Velabrum, reached the conspirators who were waiting for him near the temple of Saturn at the Roman Forum (cf. Suet. *Otho* 6). As we can easily observe, this passage from Tacitus, instead of denying our opinion confirms it, for, "the *domus* of the first century with paintings" arose exactly, on the route taken by Otho to go to the Velabrum and, from thence, to the temple of Saturn; Otho reached the Forum "passing through the so called house of Tiberius" as Plutarch confirms (*Galb.* 24).

Some suppose that the great palace constructed by Domitian and called *domus Augustiana*, was also known by the name of *Tiberiana domus*. But we cannot admit that this palace had been called *Tiberianus* having been erected upon preexisting Augustan and Neronian building and having been always distinguished by historian from the *domus* or "palace" of Tiberius.

* * *

But the "cells" in question, belong they or not to the back portion of the Caligulan

buildings (*Fig. XI*), partially transformed, may be, by the Antonini, are always interesting for their *graffiti*. Especially the sixth cell with a wooden gate is particularly interesting. Very probably these places have been inhabited by soldiers or slaves. Names of foreign persons, wishes, drawings, sentences already studied and illustrated by Prof. Correra in the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica comunale di Roma* of the year 1894, are at present almost illegible. In the little room closed by a wooden railing we can decipher, but with great difficulty, amidst a number of drawings of all kinds, this not very flattering distich for the fair sex of the city:

*Omnia formosis cupio donare puellis,
Sed mihi de populo nulla puella placet.*

“I would be disposed to give everything to the beautiful girls, but, among the people, there is no girl I like”. Nevertheless the beauty of the women of the roman people has been always admired!

*
*
*

We enjoy a beautiful view from the height of the Farnese gardens which are now a poor reminiscence of the ancient and luxuriant imperial hanging gardens. The Aventine, the Janiculum, and below the Vatican, surround the Palatine with villas, gardens, monuments in which the austere classical style mixes with the suggestive one of the Christian Middle-Ages and of Rome during the Renaissance and during modern times. Beneath lie the Velabrum with the arches of Janus Quadrifrons and the roman-byzantine church of St. George.

The capitoline Hill is there with its moles, and we can easily imagine how splendid and suggestive must have been the white temple of Jupiter before the Palatine. At its foot is the valley of the Forum with monuments and remains of the most remote ages. And beyond, the panorama of the city with its towers, churches, palaces, and villas, is enclosed, - as in an immense amphitheatre, - by the Sabine mountains and the Latian Hills with their charming little country-towns.

It is in this pleasant spot, so shady and quiete, that in the year 1690 the Academy of the Arcadia was inaugurated by Gravina and Crescimbeni. The garden, now-a-days, has been embellished by Prof. Boni, with plants and trees more in harmony with history and local souvenirs, with reproductions of altars and archaic cottages. And here the visitor prefers to stop to meditate on the tumultuous vicissitudes of imperial Rome.



In the corner of this area, towards the "*so-called* house of Tiberius," there is a piscina supposed by some to be a basin for holding fish and by others a mediæval piece of work. It is, perhaps, an ancient construction restored in a later age. Which would confirm the opinion about the hanging garden of the Antonini, if we think that, - according to Lampridius (*Ant. Heliog.* 23 sqq.), - the emperor Helagabalus, who liked fishes very much, constructed fish-ponds everywhere.

In 1866 a lime-kiln was discovered by Rosa near the piscina. This lime-kiln was full of admirable sculptures among which, as our illustrious Lanciani writes in his *Storia degli Scavi di Roma* (vol. I, p. 27), were brought to light a veiled bust of Claudius, a head of Nero, three caryatids or basket-women *in nero antico*, a nice statuette of an ephebe of green basalt, and many other fragments of less importance. This testifies to the almost general ignorance and to the devastations which so greatly damaged the ancient monuments in the xvth and xvith centuries. "Vandalism indeed incomprehensible!" - good Cancogni exclaims (*Le rovine*, ecc., p. 51), - "reconsidering the enthusiasm revived in the humanists and in the scholars of the xvth century by their return to love and admiration for antiquity; reconsidering that Guarino Veronese's hair went white with grief for having lost, in a ship-wreck, many ancient books; reconsidering, lastly; that Pomponius Laetus for his love of Roman antiquity, on the anniversary of the building of Rome, prostrated himself, together

with all the academicians, before the statue of Romulus Quirinus."

All the objects discovered up here have since been carried into the 'Museo Nazionale delle Terme di Diocleziano.'

IX.

A temple of Jupiter and a cippus of Domitius Calvinus - The battle at Sentino and "Jupiter Victor" - Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus and Decius Mure minor - Rome towards Graecian civilization - Nero and his palaces - Three emperors in one year and a half - The palace of the Flavians and Bianchini.

From the height of the Farnese gardens, towards the edge of the hill a great basement is visible of an edifice we reach by the paved narrow street along the "paternal *domus* of Tiberius" (*Fig. XII*). This construction in chip of flint-stone and tufa, towards the Circus Maximus still conserves the remains of an ample flight of steps with landing-places. A circular pedestal of the fourth landing has this inscription: DOMITIVS · M · F · CALVINVS · | PONTIFEX | COS · ITER · IMPER · DE · MANIBIEIS · - i. e.

"built with the war booty by Domitius Calvinus, son of Marcus, pontifex, twice consul and general." This inscription, found not far from here, seems to have no relation with the history of the building. This inscription evidently refers to the consul of the years 701 and 714 a. u. c. who, in 706, by order of Julius Cæsar, very efficaciously participated in the battle by which Pompey the Great was defeated at Farsalum.

He fought also in Spain and defeated the Cerretans who in the year 718 had risen in rebellion (53-35 B.C.). Calvinus was a fierce adversary of Æmilius Scaurus who, having opposed his election to a high post in the priesthood, was by the former accused of negligence in the worship of the gods of his native country.

As Dion Cassius mentions (*Hist.* XLVIII 42), this general spent the money gained from the war booty, *de manibieis*, in restoring and enlarging the *Regia* of the Pontifex in the Roman Forum at the side of the temple of Vesta. Was this a tribute of grateful affection from this valiant com-

mander towards his glorious chief who, having become pontifex maximus, passed, perhaps, in the *Regia* his last night from the 14th to the 15th of March of the year 44 B.C.? And so also this cippus of the Palatine alludes to the works made by the same person with the money gained from the sale of the war booty.

*
* *

The building on which the cippus arises is, perhaps, of republican origin; here and there, some remains of masonry work recall the restorations made at the time of the Antonini. It was, certainly, a temple; Rosa called it temple of *Jupiter Victor*; Lanciani attributed it to Jupiter Defender (*Jupiter Propugnator*), because of the near remains of another building supposed by him to have been the *schola* or residence of a sacerdotal College. In fact it is not to be forgotten that in some epigraphic fragments found in different places, and especially in the Basilica Julia at the Roman Forum, it is spoken of *cooptationes* or elections held in the temple of Jupiter

Defender on the Palatine. Recently an archæologist attributed this stylobate to the famous Augustan temple of Apollo of which we shall speak later. The excavations made to examine the structure did not solve the problem. The opinion of Rosa, however, who called it *templum Iovis Victoris* (temple of Jupiter Victor) will triumph over the others.

In the *Notitia Regionum Urbis Romae*, - an official catalogue of the buildings of the city, - compiled in the 14th century, this temple entered *in X Regione*, the Palatine one, by the name of *aedes Iovis Victoris*; and it is mentioned by this name also in other documents. The origin of this temple is attributed to a war episode of Republican Rome.

In 295 B.C. Rome was fighting against the Samnites allied with the Etruscans, the Umbrians and the Gauls. Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus had been elected consul the fifth time together with Decius Mure Junior. A Roman legion having been defeated by the Etruscans Fabius, together with Decius guided the army into the territory of the Senon Gauls and fought the allies at Sentino (Umbria). As Livy relates (X, 27 sqq.), the

consul Quintus Fabius, before starting, promised Jupiter Victor to burn the spoils of the enemy should he obtain the victory. The battle at Sentino was, certainly, the most ferocious one of the Samnite war which lasted 53 years (343-290 B.C.). The victory was still uncertain when the consul Decius Mure rushed into the thick of the fight and died gloriously. The Roman legions, then, furiously attacked the enemy who was defeated and put to flight. Quintus Maximus Rullianus entered Rome in triumph, and few years later, together with his son Quintus Fabius Gurgus who had been already defeated by Samnites in the Campania, obtained another great victory over the Samnite C. Pontius, the conqueror of the Romans at Caudium in 321 B.C.

It is to be remembered that the legionaries following the triumphal chariot of Q. F. Maximus Rullianus, instead of exalting their own chief, celebrated especially with their rude and soldierly songs, - *inconditis militaribus carminibus*. - the glorious death of Decius Mure (LIV. X 30; VAL. MAX. *Dict.*, ecc. V 7, 1; OROS. III 2, 8).

We do not know the year in which the temple of Jupiter Victor, voted, perhaps, by Quintus Fabius Maximus before the battle, was located. Ovid mentions (*Fast.* IV 621 sq.) the day of its inauguration, - the 13th of April, - but he does not mention the year. Livy only relates that the consul, to keep his promise, burnt the spoils of the

enemy in honor of Jupiter Victor. So this building may be considered as the commemorative monument of the triumph of the roman supremacy over one of the most bellicose people of southern Italy.

It is not to be forgotten that in 312 B.C. Appius Claudius Cæcus, - adversary of Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, - opened and laid the Appian Way.

And so two temples, on the Palatine, commemorated two decisive facts in the life and destiny of Rome: the temple of Jupiter Stator and the other of Jupiter Victor.

Supposing, then, that the building in question is the commemorative temple of the victory at Sentino, it has a great historical importance, for, after this victory the Romans had the way open through Southern Italy and came into contact with the Colonies of the *Magna Graecia* which, in their turn, disclosed new horizons to the political activity of Rome and, together with Greece radically modified its culture and its civilization.

The cell of the temple, constructed in *opus quadratum* with blocks of tufa, was

restored, if not reconstructed by the Antonini who, as it seems, built also the substructions of the staircase leading into the temple. Its façade was adorned with eight columns, and its sides with sixteen ones. It was, certainly, one of the most characteristic buildings of the Republican age.



We quit now the temple of Jupiter Victor and we reach, - passing through recent excavations which brought to light remains and substructions of various ages, - a vast area full of interesting and picturesque ruins. We are, here, before the imposing remains of a whole building which witnessed the most interesting events of imperial Rome (*Fig. XIII*).

The area upon which these remains stand is an immense rectangle looking towards both the Circus Maximus and the Velia. Evidently, at first, this group of small prominences was here divided by a depression covered in early times by buildings upon the ruins of which new palaces arose later.

Suetonius informs us that Nero protracted the construction of the house he called *Transitoria* from the Palatine to the Esquiline Hill: *Domum a Palatio Esquilias usque fecit. Quam primo Transitoriam... nominavit* (Ner. 31). This palace or group of constructions destroyed by the conflagration of the year 64, certainly passed by means of galleries or bridges, over streets which could not have been suppressed without great discomfort to the life of the city; and by this reason, as some suppose, the *domus* was called *Transitoria*.

On this side of the Palatine, as it seems, Nero began the construction of his first palace to which succeeded, after the conflagration, the *invisa domus* mentioned by Tacitus, and greatly hated by the people. It was also called *Domus Aurea* "Golden House" because of its sumptuousness, its mole, its wonders. Suetonius, speaking of this building, adds that Nero was especially unlucky for his mania of building which led him into robberies and confiscations of all sorts: *Non in alia re tamen damnosior quam in aedificando* (ib.).

The emperor, then, razed the preexisting buildings almost to the ground to erect on the same place his *Domus Transitoria*; the large subterranean rooms recently brought to light, the staircaises, the galleries, show us the greatness and the sumptuousness of these two Neronian buildings produced, perhaps, by the daring genius of the architects Severus and Celer.

But when the tyrant died so tragically during the sudden revolution in 68 A.D. after the ephemeral reigns of Galba, Otho and Vitellius, and the family of the Flavii with Vespasian had mounted the imperial throne, the hated Neronian buildings were condemned to disappear bit by bit.

And so indeed they did, without regret! The emperor Hadrian on what still remained in his days, built the temple of Venus and Rome.

So the ancient Neronian and preneronian remains divided and subdivided by substruction walls supported a new platform which filled up the depression of the hill on this side.

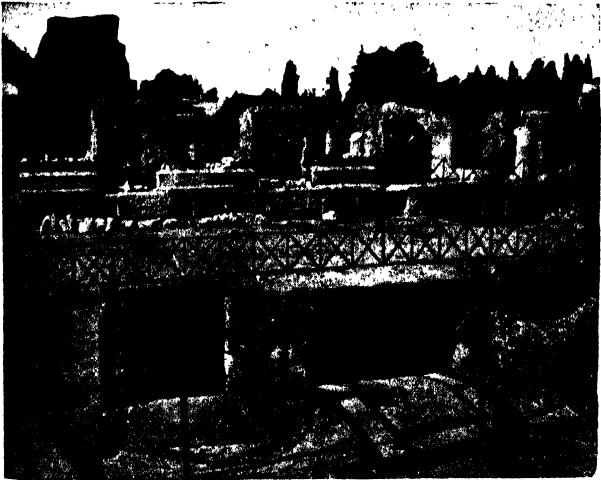
On the new pit arose the celebrated *do-*

mus Flaviorum or palace of the Flavians mentioned by Suetonius, Plutarch and others. Because of the misgovernment of the Farnese and especially of Francis the First duke of Parma, we have no remarkable remains of this *domus*, the excavation of which lasted from 1720 to 1727 under the direction of monsignor Bianchini. So the name of Bianchini, respected student of roman antiquities, was unfortunately joined with that of the duke Francis who was justly called, by our illustrious Lanciani, "the last destroyer of the Palatine."

In some topographical maps the palace we are about to describe is indicated by the name of *domus Augustiana* and not by that of *domus Flaviorum* or *Domitiani*. And by this name it is also mentioned by historians. As the *official* residence of the "Augusti," - of the Emperors, - all the State affairs were discussed here. This building was finished by Domitian (81-96 A.D.). Moreover, as everyone knows, the Flavians reconstructed also the house of Augustus with a portion of which, may be, they rebuilt their new *domus*.

Fig. XIV.

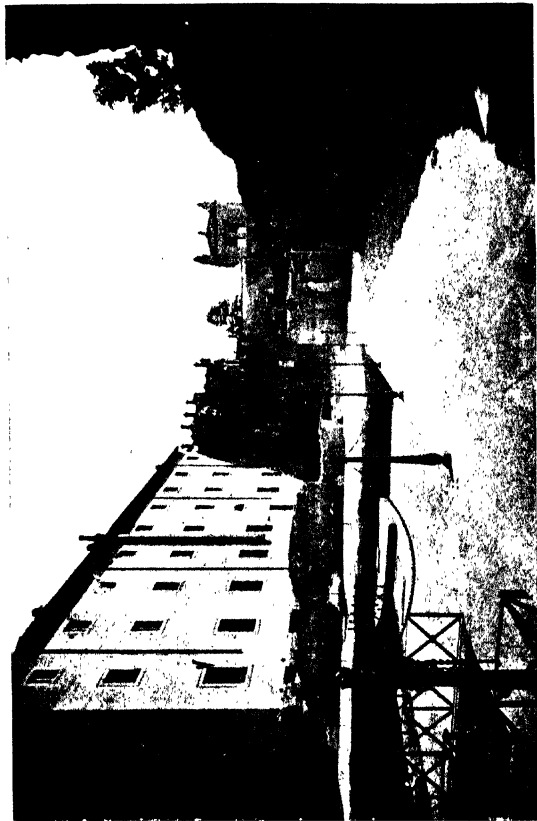
(From a photo by Morpurgo).



The *Triclinum* in the palace of Domitian
and the remains of preexisting buildings.

Fig. XV.

(From a photo by Mosconi).



Absis and Pavement.

X.

The palace of Domitian - The "Aula Regia" and Bianchini's excavations - Modern devastations - The Basilica, the Flavian martyrs, pope Sixtus the Second and St. Laurence - The "Lararium" - A pagan emperor puts our Lord Jesus Christ among the Lares - A bath-room devastated in 1721.

It seems that the Flavians having this immense and sumptuous building did not erect a new palace for their own residence but aimed rather at the embellishment of the Palatine as a seat more adapted to the great manifestations of imperial life, such as meetings, banquets, receptions, and the affairs appertaining to the *cognitio principis*, or, "imperial jurisdiction," and, above all to those ceremonies of an official character in which the religious and political activity of the *princeps perpetuus* - of the Emperor or future God, chief of the Roman World, - was developed.

Artistic reconstructions of this palace have been made by Tognetti and Gatteschi. Tognetti's reconstruction is reproduced in

Haugwitz's *Palatin*; the other one belongs to a series of reconstructions of classic monuments made by worthy Gatteschi under the patronage of the 'Comune di Roma' (Roman Town Council).

Let us try to recognise, now, every portion of the building referring to the writers who illustrated this side of the Palatine.

The *domus Flaviana*, in which we recognise a model of the classical type of the *domus romana* at the side looking towards the Palatine area, was preceded by a portico to which the fragment of the column in *cipollino* erected at the right hand corner must have belonged. (*Fig. XIII*).

Three entrances lead from the portico into three rooms of various size and use. The central one is the largest.

At the time of Bianchini's excavations the condition and aspect of the *domus Flaviana* were different, and it is sad to remember the devastation made in those days. It is sufficient to mention that the two columns of *giallo antico* which adorned the central entrance were sold by the duke of Parma to the stone-workers Perini and

Maciucchi for 3000 *scudi* (about 600 pound sterling); the colossal block of marble at the threshold now adorns the high altar of the Pantheon.

Bianchini justly recognised in this spacious hall the *aula Palatina* or *Aula regia*, as he called it in the epigraph by him placed, in 1726, on the further apse, as an undeserved encomium to Francis of Parma.

The *Aula regia*, 47,29 meters by 35,47, which was in the place generally occupied, in the roman *domus*, by the *Tablinum*, had been constructed with bricks marked with the seal of the furnaces of Flavia Domitilla.

The walls of this artistic hall were adorned with 16 columns of numidian and phrygian marble with capitals and pedestals of white marble. Eight niches of different designs with porphyry columns completed its decoration.

Bianchini, who admired on the very spot the sumptuous decoration of the *Aula regia*, in his epigraph placed at the bottom of the hall, after having described its artistic splendour and its magnificence, speaks

of colossal statues in black basalt already existing there: *additis e basaltico aethiopico ingentibus colossis*. He discovered, in fact, not far from here, two statues of Hercules and Bacchus in black basalt, which are visible, at present, in the Museum of Parma; some capitals and many ornamental fragments are in the Naples Museum; and a few other remains have been removed to the Palazzo Farnese in Rome.

So the only remains we have of the magnificent Aula regia, - its demolished and formless walls, - sadly demonstrate how the taste and the worship of classical antiquity of an illustrious man like Bianchini, have been oppressed by the iconoclastic and commercial mind of that dubious patron of art the duke of Parme and his Ministers at the Vatican, the marquis Ignazio de Santi and the Count Suzzani.

As the emperor granted audiences in this room, we justly suppose that in the further apse the imperial throne arose, or *augustale solium* as the *Cronaca di Monte Cassino* calls it when speaking of the emperor Heraclius' coronation which took place

here in 629 A.D. It is to this emperor that the recovery of the «true Cross» of our Lord Jesus Christ is attributed.

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The hall at the right is called *Basilica*. Of much smaller dimensions, it reminds us of those halls that the patricians and magistrates had in their sumptuous dwellings to grant audiences to their clients or to treat the affairs of their own office. It is closed, at the bottom, by an apse where the remains of a *podium* for the imperial throne are still visible. We see, here, a fragment of a transenna, put again in its place by Rosa who arranged the other remains in order to give an idea of the ancient decoration of this hall. A double row of porticoes must have flanked its sides.

It has been already justly observed that both private and public pagan Basilicas had their influence over the architecture of the christian ones. In fact, many wealthy christian families who used to give this portion of their *domus* for the meetings of their

co-religionists, contributed unknowingly to perpetuate in christian temples the souvenir of the ancient meeting places under the name of Basilica. To this many other proofs have been added resulting from the discovery of other buildings; that, for instance, of an ancient subterranean basilica outside Porta Maggiore which partially modifies, but does not destroy the old opinion.

Here, the emperors gave judgment in criminal cases belonging to the *cognitio principis*; and here also the members of the imperial council had their meetings to treat other state affairs.

In this hall, perhaps, was decided the tragical fate of Flavius Clement and his wife Domitilla, of Acilius Glabrio and of the persons who were related to them either by friendship or faith, as Nereus and Achilles; and here also took place one of the most pitiful scenes of Christianity opposed to paganism.

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In 257-8 the emperor Valerianus forbade the Christians to assemble in their subterranean cemeteries of the suburb. The pope Sixtus the Second, fearing a new

ferocious persecution, convoked his priests in the cemetery on the Appian Way. Taken by surprise by the imperial sbirroes he was conducted, together with his deacons to a place called *basilica Iovis*, - basilica of Jupiter, - and condemned to death, the pope and his companions were beheaded on the very spot where they broke the imperial laws. According to St. Ambrose, while the sbirroes were leading the venerable pope to death, Laurence, - the Spanish deacon, - went to meet him on the Appian Way and begged the pontiff to receive him as a companion in martyrdom. The pontiff encouraged him and ordered him to distribute the treasure of the church among the poor; the act induced the soldiers to arrest Laurence also and to lead him before the prefect. The latter desirous to appropriate the treasure of the Christian community did his best to corrupt the young deacon who appeared to agree and promised the prefect that after three days he would have brought him the longed for treasure. But Laurence, during these three days, distributed clandestinely all the riches among the poor. On the third day he called on the prefect accompanied by a train of poor and beggars and showing them to him, said: "Here are the treasures the Church prides herself on!" The young Laurence was condemned to the atrocious torture of the gridiron and was buried in the cemetery of Ciriaca on the via Tiburtina (see PRUD. *Peri stephanon*, hymn. II *Laurentio archid.*).

Classical frescoes on the right wall of the Basilica of St. Laurence outside-the-walls commemorate the martyrdom of St. Laurence who, - according to Pruden-

tius, – before dying prayed fervently to god for the safety of Rome. The church of San Sisto Vecchio which we see now-a-days on the Appian Way shows the traveller the very spot where Laurence met Sixtus the Second ; an epigraph in the Pope's crypt in the cemetery of Calixtus, commemorates the pontiff killed in that neighbourhood by order of the emperor Valerianus. The church of San Lorenzo in Panisperna erected on the ancient *thermae* of Olympiade shows the spot of his martyrdom.

The *Acta* then, as we have already hinted, refer that Sixtus and Laurence were judged and condemned in the *Basilica Iovis*. According to some topographers the question is not about the *Basilica Flaviana* but about a temple of Jupiter, the one near, perhaps, dedicated to Jupiter Victor ; in fact in the Christian language of the Middle-Ages the word *basilica* also signified "temple." But, as we shall see later the *triclinum* or dining-room of the Flavian palace, was also called *Iovis coenatio*. *Basilica* and *triclinum*, then, in course of time, took their names from the temple of Jupiter Victor close by. Therefore the *basilica Iovis* of the *Acta* of the Saints Sixtus and Laurence must be identified with the hall

where we now are and where those two illustrious Christian martyrs of the period of Valerianus were condemned among many others.

In the hall to the left of the *Aula regia* recently explored by new excavations, the *Lararium* is supposed to have been where the protecting Gods of the Imperial house were venerated. The discovery made by Bianchini of an *ara* (altar), later ruthlessly destroyed, and of a little marble altar, confirm this supposition. It was adorned, before, by the *Genius Augusti*, or protecting genius of the Emperor; at the sides of the altar were two "lares," one sustaining a bucket and the other the horn for the libations. The back of the altar was adorned with a crown. It was here also that the emperor Alexander Severus (222-235 A.D.) ordered the simulacres of Abraham and Christ to be kept together with those of many other illustrious benefactors of humanity.

In this same place Bianchini discovered a stone of a deep brown color and conical in shape which reminded him of the other

one which so strangely adorned the simulacra of Cybele brought from Pessinus. We do not know what became of this fragment. It must have certainly disappeared because of the vandalistic destructions perpetrated in the excavations of those days. We know, in fact, that on May 1721, was ruthlessly destroyed a magnificent bath-room the decoration of which was almost intact (Lanciani, *The Ruins* ecc. p. 157-167). Mosaics, bas-reliefs, niches, columns of porphyry, serpentine, giallo antico, pavonazzetto; five lions' heads in gilt brass, remains of paintings and of the artistic ceiling, everything was barbarously ruined and spoilt. Such was the devastation made in those days that even some beautiful mural paintings sent to Parma and, afterwards, to Naples, were so neglected and spoilt through carelessness that almost nothing remained of them. The copies made by Piccini and Bartoli did not compensate in any way for such damage.

XI.

More about the palace of Domitian - The peristyle - Domitian, Nero and the "phengites" stone - The "triclinum" - A banquet of the emperor Domitian and the murder of Elius Pertinax narrated by Julius Capitolinus - The spot called "Sicilia" - The Nymphæus - More about Nero and his "domus."

The first three halls of the palace, - through two wide entrances formerly sumptuously adorned with marbles and columns, led to the Peristyle or inner court-yard surrounded by a portico of columns. The area of the peristyle is 3600 square metres.

The columns, pedestals and capitals of white marble have completely disappeared. Only some wretched remains are still visible of the ancient decoration.

Suetonius relates that the emperor Domitian, "thieving in order to meet the wants of the exhausted aerarium and cruel through his fear," *inopia rapax, metu saevus*, avoided by everybody and fearing everything was walking through this portico while the praetorians were watching at the entrances to this concealed place. When

he reached his 45th year of age, however, he became the victim of a conspiracy led by his wife Domitilla herself in the year 96; this plot placed on the throne the old Nerva (*Dom.* 17).

Suetonius also refers in the biography of this tyrant (*ibid.* 14) that he got the walls of the portico covered with "phengites," a marble which, according to Pliny was discovered in Cappadocia in the times of Nero, and it was so bright as to reflect everything like a looking-glass; so the suspicious and lonely Emperor was able to perceive immediately everyone who tried to approach him unseen. Nero rebuilt with this most rare marble the ancient temple of Fortuna Seia, - already erected by Servius Tullius, - which was closed by the tyrant into the perimeter of his *domus* (Plin. *Nat. hist.* XXXVI 22).

On both sides of the peristyle the remains of halls are visible which must have been used as a passage into the inner rooms of the palace. The halls at the side of the 'Monastero della Visitazione' are still partially covered, but their remains were recognised when this wing of the monastery

was built and which will be very soon demolished in order to begin the new excavations at this classical side of the Palatine. At present the area of the peristyle, completely explored by Prof. Boni, here and there shows the traces of its ancient brightness. In the centre the brick relief of a tiny labyrinth marks the spot of a basin or fountain with meanders in which an ingenious artist, by means of buoys made use of the force of the water for many water-works.



Another very spacious hall (*Fig. XIV*) followed the Peristyle with which it forms at present, one immense square, the division-walls and the entrances having completely disappeared. Rosa's excavations showed the true destination of this locality formerly supposed to be the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, erected by Augustus. It has been ascertained, that the hall was adorned by 16 granite columns of which a few remarkable fragments have been discovered. At the bottom of the hall the apse was found

with its pavement inlaid with porphyry, serpentine, giallo and pavonazzetto in *opus Alexandrinum*. The architectonic fragments here and there discovered, the remains of the magnificent pavement which, with its various strata shows its successive restorations and reconstructions, everything confirms that this hall, for wealth of marbles and ornamentation was not inferior to the other portions of the Flavian dwelling. It was not difficult, when the digging up was accomplished, to recognize in this hall the *Triclinum* of the palace, according to the indications given by Vitruvius on the banquet rooms used among the Graecians (*Archit.* IV 5). Likewise the apse at the bottom, was undoubtedly destined to hold, in a more elevated place, the convivial bed and the imperial table; the guests had to take their places at the other tables or beds around the hall (*Fig. XV*). It was, perhaps, here that the emperor Domitian, invited to dinner the patrician and senatorial class of Rome. In fact many authors speak of this episode.

The emperor was not in harmony either with the Senate or with the more learned and intellectual class of citizens. Agricola, the father-in-law of the historian Tacitus, Erennius Senecio, Arulenus Rusticus, Aelius Lama, Salvus Cocceianus, Sallust Lucullus suffered first from his ingratitude and his suspicion and then from his hatred. One night a sudden invitation of the emperor called the most remarkable personages of the senatorial and patrician class to dinner on the Palatine. This act, apparently munificent and pious, might hide a snare, but, on the other hand, it was too dangerous not to accept the invitation. So nobody refused the imperial banquet. But what a strange banquet! The hall and the tables were hung in mourning. The servants, put on mourning in accordance with the mournful custom of the *atri lictores*, served dinner to the guests; the dishes were those used in funereal banquet, and the sepulchral torches substituted the lanterns and the chandeliers. Everything was menacing death and the emperor, at the bottom of the hall, seemed to enjoy the general dismay.

Suddenly the funereal emperor made a sign, and many couples of Numidian slaves and gladiators rushed into the hall and began a pyrrhic dance to the clashing of arms and shields. And when everybody thought that the hour of death had arrived at another sign from the tyrant the doors were opened again and all the guests were dismissed with the monition that "the funereal farce might have become a tragedy."

According to Dion Cassius, the Emperor Domitian

only intended to celebrate a funereal banquet in the honour of the fallen during the Dacian war (XIPH. from DION CASSIUS *Hist.* LXVII).

And a tragedy it was which costed the life, in the neighbourhood of this hall, of the good emperor Pertinax, on the 28th of March of the year 193 A. D. after only three months of empire.

He succeeded to Commodus, and was the son of a poor coal-merchant from Alba (Monserrato); as senator and prefect of Rome he was put on the throne by the praetorians. Being a kind-hearted man he used to foretell and call happy only those generations who had seen the swords changed into ploughs. He tried to moderate the unruliness of the praetorians. *Laboremus!* "Let us work!" this was his last watch word, almost his political will, synthesis of his painful existence which was violently ended by the blows of the risen rough soldiery.

Julius Capitolinus (*Pert.* II) thus narrates the death of this emperor: "The conspiracy for the murder of Pertinax was machinated by the prefect of the praetorium Lelius and others. Lelius was very sorry for having put him on the throne; infact he had been accused of stupidity because of some proposals made by Pertinax; the soldiers, on the other hand, did not forgive the emperor the fact of having condemned to death, for the conspiracy of Fulco, many of their companions, on the mere witness of a slave. Three hundred armed men, then, went from the Praetorium to the Palatine.

"In that same day, when Pertinax was sacrificing,

Fig. XVI.

(From a photo by Mosconi.)



Convento della Visitazione and Villa Mills.
(Area of the Augustan Buildings).

the heart of the victim was not found; he sacrificed again, but not even the end of the entrails of the immolated animal were found; and this happened before the soldiers left the barracks.

"The squadron which arrived to escort the emperor, was sent back because Pertinax, preoccupied by the sad prognostics obtained during the sacrifices, abstained from going to hear a poet reciting in the Athenaeum. At the same moment the mutineers reached the Palatine no one thought of repulsing them, nobody warned the emperor.

"On the contrary he was so intensely hated by his courtesans and slaves, that the soldiers became still more desirous to murder him. They arrived at the same moment that Pertinax was giving orders to one of his slaves. They rushed into the portico to a place called "Sicilia," and as far as the banquet hall called "of Jupiter". As soon as the emperor knew of the fact he wanted to send Lelius to meet them; but Lelius, on the contrary, covering his face so as not to be recognised, went out the palace through the porticoes and shut himself in his house.

"The soldiers were already running through the inner rooms of the palace, when Pertinax met them and tried to appease them with opportune and serious words. They seemed almost appeased when one of them, a certain Thausius, rousing the fury of his companions, pierced the emperor with a blow of his spear. Pertinax, then, fell covering his face and invoking the anger of Jupiter Revenger upon the traitors. Electus only, who killed

two of the murderers, fell at his side; no other person defended him!

“ Many add that the unlucky emperor was pursued into his bed room and was murdered there whilst trying to ward off the blows of his assailants. ”

It has been already observed that many writers recognise the *basilica Iovis* of the *Acta* in the one existing in the Flavian palace. Iulius Capitolinus refers that the praetorians, after having passed through a place “ called Sicilia ” *locus qui appellatur Sicilia*, rushed into the *Iovis coenatio*, the imperial dining room, and murdered the old emperor. And if the *triclinum* took its name from the near temple of Jupiter, it seems that by the name of “ Sicilia ” was designed a place near the peristyle of the *domus*. Perhaps an atrium where the Augustan trophies of *Sicilia* and *Actium* were kept. Moreover we must not forget that Augustus himself had, in his house, a secluded nook called, - we do not know by what reason, - “ *Siracusa* ” (Suet. *Oct.* 72).



To the right of the *triclinum* there is a hall once rich in marbles, repeatedly restored; a basin of an elliptical shape shows us that it was a *nymphaeus*. Here as elsewhere many remains of pavement decorated with marble marquetrys of very fine work, increase the difficulty in determining the uses of the ancient rooms upon which the new ones of the Flavian palace arose. In the *Aula regia*, in the Peristyle, in the *Triclinum*, the area has been everywhere excavated to examine and study the preextant republican and imperial buildings (see *Figs XIV and XV*).

At the side of the *Nymphaeus* the pavement and a portion of the perimetrical wall of a wide round hall are visible. Are they the remains of the famous *coenatio rotunda* (round banquetting-hall) of the *Domus Neroniana* in which, according to Suetonius (*Ner.* 31), an ingenious machinery imitated the movements of the stars and planets?

Long ago at one side of the underground of the Peristyle some ancient walls

were discovered once decorated with beautiful paintings which now are almost completely effaced, and which have been supposed, - without sufficient reason, - to belong to the "baths of Livia." Remarkable portions of a fine pavement have been also discovered beneath the *convento della Visitazione*: remains which confirm still more the sumptuousness of the ancient *triclinum* and create the wish to demolish the convent itself in order to make new researches. In the underground of the basilica and in its neighbourhood many narrow rooms have been discovered which are arrived at by subterraneous passages and are now lit through thick panes of glass laid on the floor of the basilica, where, the tracing of a wide basin discovered in the underground, has been drawn in brick. Everthing, then, induces us to think of the *domus Transitoria* and *Aurea* of Nero. Some remarkable paintings, - with heroic subjects, - buried at the time the Neronian and Flavian palaces were built and which are to be referred to the times of the Republic, have been also discovered, as we

have already observed. Centuries, individuals, manifestations of art, succeeded one another and followed unceasingly. The modest dwellings of ancient heroes were substituted by those of the "Epigoni" of the republican period; these, in their turn were replaced by the constructions of the first period of the imperial era from Augustus to Nero. The Flavii effaced again on that colossal palimpsest the work of the anterior times and to the magnificent palace built there by Rabirius they confided the glory of their name.

Plutarch, in his life of Valerius Publicola (15), says that great would have been the wonder of every one who had seen in Domitian's palace the portico, the basilica and the women's apartments; and he adds also that the emperor, like the mysthic Midas turned everything he touched into gold. So marvellous and imposing the imperial dwelling seemed to the graecian writer. Martial (*Epigr.* VIII 36, 39) greatly extolled the splendour of the imperial Palace, and Statius exclaimed (*Sylv.* IV II 18-20) that so great were the number and the size of the

columns of the haughty abode that it would have been able to sustain a whole Olympus of Gods.

Everything disappeared because of the carelessness of the Middle-Ages: vineyards, kitchen-gardens and brambles covered the Rabirian ruins, and the Renaissance completely spoilt them with its rapacious and disordered search for statues, ornaments and marbles. And as a nostalgic souvenir of an heroical local legend, the scholars of Taddeo Zuccari painted in fresco the Vergilian episodes of Aenea, the guest of the Arcadian king Evander, on the Palatine in the terrace of cardinal Alexander Farnese's little house built near the Nymphaeum.

Behind the Flavian palace and towards the Circus the remains of an ancient portico are still visible, probably a back entrance to this side of the imperial Palaces. In a deep ditch we can see the blocks of an ancient construction in *opus quadratum*; and at the side the remains of halls with a semicircular bottom and steps, a library, perhaps, or an accademy for literary conferences. In front of the palace a steep

path descends towards that portion of the Palatine stone quarries which branches out under the temple of Jupiter Victor.

XII.

The "Convento della Visitazione" and Villa Mills - Excavations made by Rancoureil in the area of the Augustan buildings - A dog which was a necessary accomplice of an Italian scholar - The Murcian Walley, the Circus Maximus and the pulvinar of Augustus - The temple of Apollo, st. Sebastian and the "Adonaea" - C. Julius Caesar Octavianus and his ambitious aims - History of a house - C. Julius Caesar Octavianus pontifex and "Augustus" - Celebrated hens and laurels.

From the last excavations we can easily get an idea of the new and interesting discoveries we may expect from the exploration of the subsoil of the "Convento della Visitazione" and its neighbourhood (see *figrs XV and XVI*). Architectonic fragments of fine work, pavements, rooms with the walls once covered with marbles, among which a beautiful bath-room, in marble, with niches at the end found full of all

kinds of rubbish. Halls which seem to have been bath-rooms, another construction with niches at the side of the picturesque *casino* of Villa Mills, everything leads us to suppose the existence of a monumental group of ruins of the finest imperial period.

Are we, then, near or on the area of the first *domus* of Augustus, of the white temple of Apollo once surrounded by the magnificent portico with the Greek and Latin libraries? We remember that this locality, once a possession of Alessandro Colonna and Cristoforo Stati, in 1560 became the property of the duke Paolo Mattei, and then of the Spada, the Magnani, of Carlo Mills, of colonel Smith, and finally of the Suore della Visitazione. At present it is the property of the Italian government. It was here that in the XVIIIth century the french Prof. Rancoueil discovered some rooms of an ancient *domus* supposed to be that of Augustus. The excavations, made without knowledge or care occasioned, this time also, much damage. Moreover we must add that abbé Rancoueil, in his deplorable exclusiveness did not allow Roman

archæologists to assist at the excavations made only for the purpose of discovering statues and paintings to enrich foreign Galleries and Museums, instead of contributing to the study of the topography of the Palatine. And we should not have, at present in the *Monumenti inediti* by Guattani, the map of discoveries made then, if the assistant Benedetto Mori, - a person greatly appreciated by Piranesi, - had not made, the drawing of them on the sly during the night, recurring to every kind of cunning to obtain the unconscious but most necessary complicity of the dog who guarded that place from which, according to Rancourel's order the Roman archæologists were to be excluded.

The ground zone under which the remains of the Augustan buildings are supposed to be, goes from the Circus Maximus (now Via dei Cerchi), to that of S. Bonaventura; it is almost facing then, like the Flavian palace, from SW to NE. This zone, except the little portion explored by Rancourel and by the last excavations at the side and beneath the Casino of Villa Mills, is still

unexplored. By a special permission of the last proprietors we could descend, lately, through a modern staircase, to the rooms discovered by Rancourel, some of which were also used as cellars for wine, &c.

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Before the casino of Villa Mills there is a little circular covered gallery in the midst of secular plants and trees, which overlooks all the under lying Via de' Cerchi, between the Palatine and the Aventine. This is the ancient Murcian Valley (*Vallis Murcia*) which from the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin leads to the present 'Passeggiata Archeologica.' It was there that, according to the legend the rape of the Sabine women took place during the *ludi* in honor in the God Consus. There, in later years, the Circus Maximus arose like a giant, the celebrated arena for the races and games the memory of which accompanied the Roman history from the commencement of the Eternal City until the mournful days of Totyla when in 549 A. D. the last *ludi circenses* there were held before a few thousands of

meagre and degenerate sons of a great people, painful phantoms of a race which had finished its historical cycle.

The belvedere is on the ruins of an ancient exhedra which must have contained the *pulvinar* or imperial box of the Augustan period, almost at the half way down the Circus Maximus. The Emperor Augustus in an epigraph dictated by himself, and afterwards affixed to his mausoleum on the Campus Martius, spoke of a "*pulvinar* in the Circus Maximus", *pulvinar in Circo Maximo*. He certainly alluded to this exhedra, later on barbarously destroyed, which entered, at this side, the group of his buildings. From the height of this terrace the Emperor was able to enjoy the games and to receive the applause of the two hundred thousand spectators crowding the flight of steps round the immense *circus* erected by Tarquinius Priscus (MARUCCHI, *Le Palatin*, II 318).

* * *

Panvinio, at first, and afterwards, Bianchini thought that the house of Augustus

was situated behind this large exhedra. The excavation and the discoveries made by Rancourel seemed to confirm this supposition of the two learned antiquarians. Though almost all the topographers agree in recognising the remains of the *domus Augustana* in the discoveries made by Rancourel not all of them have the same opinion about the position of the famous temple of Palatine Apollo. Someone, as we know, identified it with the temple of Jupiter Victor already described at the side of the Flavian house; others supposed that it was in the "vigna Barberini" just on the spot where the little medieval church of S. Sebastiano is situated. To those who maintain the opinion that the temple of Apollo is to be found in the area of the "vigna Barberini," on that height, i. e., which overlooks the arc of Titus, we shall oppose the reasons deduced from the sacred topography and from the *Atti* of St. Sebastian (BOLL. *Act. Sanct.*, mens. Jan., tomo II, d. xx).

As is well known this tribune of the praetorium who died, perhaps, at the time of Diocletian (285-305 A. D.) suffered a double

torture: being shot by arrows *in medio campo* afterwards flogged *in hippodromo palatii*. The Christians, perhaps, were able to corrupt the archers who had to shoot him to death and took away the heroic tribune half-dead. A certain Irene, widow of Castulus *zetarius* or *diaetarius palatii*, aulic attaché, who inhabited there *in scala excelsa*, took care of the martyr and restored him to life. The church dedicated to the martyr doubtlessly commemorates, in the Barberini bailiwick, a local souvenir of st. Sebastian himself, and it was probably here the "campus" where he suffered his martyrdom. And thus it is not difficult to recognise in the word "hippodrome" of the *Atti*, the stadium of the emperor Domitian which we shall shortly speak of, and which, at the time of the king Theodoricus (455-526 A. D.), was transformed into a hippodrome. And it would not be too hardy, perhaps, to perceive in the word "campus" a denomination given, at the time of the decadence, to the gardens opened by Domitian not far from his palace and by him called *Adonaea*. They

were dedicated, in fact, to Adonis, a divine representation of the sun and a generating force of vegetation.

There is mention made of these gardens in a marble fragment of the ancient topographical map of Rome and we could establish now-a-days, its position on the Palatine almost exactly. And so from the studies made in the 'Vigna Barberini' by Flavio Biondo in the xvth century, and from the topographical drawing of those ruins by Pirro Ligorio we are induced to think that the *Adonaea* must have existed in the 'Vigna Barberini' and precisely there where the temple of Apollo is supposed by some to have been erected. On the other hand the church of St. Sebastian itself seems to confirm our opinion: it is a local souvenir of the Narbonne martyr shot *in medio campo*, in a *viridarium*, i. e., or garden.

Lastly, if anybody objects that the word "campus" is to be referred to the Praetorian Camp (*Castra Praetoria*) and it was precisely there that S.^t Sebastian suffered, we shall ask, in our turn, why no souvenir has been put in that celebrated place to

commemorate such an illustrious and venerated martyr.

Thus the opinion that the temple of Apollo was in the Barberini bailiwick not having been accepted, we shall shortly see how this temple is to be found in the area of Villa Mills.

We shall give, below, a few more precise notices about the *domus Augustana* which we have already shortly spoken of.

C. Octavius, son of Octavius and of Azia niece of Julius Cæsar, was born on September 23rd of the year 63 B. C. in the Palatine region *ad Capita Bubula*. Having been appointed heir under his uncle's will, he took the name of C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus. When he was at Apollonia he received the news of the famous dictator's murder.

The spot where Cæsar Octavianus was born seems to have taken its name of *Capita Bubula* from an architectonical ornamentation with heads of oxen. For the same reason the sepulchre of Cæcilia Metella on the Appian Way was also called "Capo di Bove" (Head of ox). According to Servius (*Ad Aen.* VIII, 361) the spot *ad Capita Bubula* must have been at the *Curiae Veteres* (the Old Curiae), in the neighbourhood of the later arch of Constantine.

The sudden apparition in Rome of the youth Octavianus, the kind reception made of him by the Senate

added to Cicero's aggressive eloquence, dismayed, at first, the ambitious aims of Anthony who was pitting to receive the political inheritance of Julius Cæsar. The opposition of the aristocracy induced, the youth Octavianus to join with his ancient competitor and with Læpidus. The massacres and the proscriptions which followed this fact and which cost the life of more than a hundred senators, of two thousand cavaliers and of Cicero himself, and the battle at Philippi (42 B. C.) weakened the republicans for ever. Few years after the feud between Octavianus and Anthony, who had already fallen into the snare of Cleopatra queen of Egypt and mistress of Julius Cæsar, recommenced; the victory obtained by M. Vipsanius Agrippa at Actium (31 B. C.) over the fleet of Anthony and Cleopatra, made Octavianus master of the Empire; the double suicide of Anthony and Cleopatra eliminated every possibility of new and dangerous competitions.

It was on this occasion that C. Octavius the future Augustus emperor, after having inhabited the house of the orator Calvus at the "Scalae Anulariae" near the Roman Forum, went to live on the Palatine in the modest house of Ortensius bought by him a little before the year 31 B. C. (Suet. *Oct.* 72).

This little house, - *aedes modicae*, as Suetonius calls it, - is supposed to have been situated on the southwestern side of the hill, in that place occupied later on, by Colonna and Stati properties. The dwelling of the despot, in fact, could not contend in magnificence with the other ones of his illustrious contemporaries; porti-

coes with peperino columns, with no marble ornamentations, halls without costly pavements; such was the *domus* of the orator Orthensius, which, having been destroyed by a fire, was enlarged by Augustus and reconstructed at the expense of the whole people.

Quite different though were the aims of the youth C. Octavianus. Through the favour of complaisant acquaintances he bought also many other properties on the Palatine, and, among these, the house of Catilina which was demolished by him, to enlarge his own, always maintaining every appearance of moderation.

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Once, the lighting having struck one of Octavianus' new properties, aruspices said that, according to Apollo's will, a temple was to be dedicated to him on the very spot struck by the lighting (Suet. *Oct.* 29). This was the origin of the famous sanctuary of the Palatine, begun on 36 and dedicated on 28 B. C. (VELL. II, 81; Asc. PED. *In Sen. in tog. cand. enarr.*). A little later, always on the Palatine, a new temple was erected and dedicated to Vesta, the ancient goddess, the *cana dea* who already had her venerable and honoured sanctuary in the Roman Forum. It seem that in this manner the lucky despot wanted to put the destinies of his own family and of the future Cæsars under the protection of the two great divinities. And Ovid refers (*Fast.* IV, 951 sq.) that the munificent emperor gave, as a present, to Apollo and Vesta two portions of his property on the Palatine; the third part was kept for himself and upon this he

built his house; and the Palatine, already sacred for having held Romulus' abode, was now guarding three immortal divinities: Apollo, Vesta and Augustus:

*Phoebus habet partem, Vestae pars altera cessit;
Quod superest ipsis, tertius ipse tenet.
State, Palatinae laurus, praetextaque quercu
Stet domus; aeternos tres habet una deos.*

C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus had been for long aspiring to the highest dignity of *pontifex maximus*; which dignity was obtained by him only in the year 13 or 12 B. C. at the death of Æmilius Lepidus. But though the title of *pontifex maximus* increased his prestige over the people it seemed to be in conflict with the emperor's ambitious aims. The *pontifex*, in fact, might not live in a private place; an ancient law and custom obliged him to reside near the temple of Vesta in the Forum. This partially explains why C. Octavianus erected a new temple to Vesta on the Palatine. And Dion Cassius opportunely adds that the despot gave the Vestals the old *Regia*, dwelling of the pontiff in the Forum, and declared his new residence accessible to all. From that day the principle was accepted that the Palatine should be the ordinary residence of the Caesars, as perpetual princes of the *res publica* and heads of the official worship of the State (PLUT. *Num.* 9, 14).

And thus, Augustus who, dying, boasted to have rebuilt in marble that Rome which he had received in brick— who so eagerly desired to be called second political founder, after Romulus, of the eternal City, *pater patriae*, — saw his dream come true. He did not as-

sume the name of second "Romulus" in order not to excite the aversion of the people to the regal dignity which was joined with that name (DION. CASS. *Hist.* LIII). But nothing prevented this "citizen of the Republic" becoming the head of the Senate. He was repeatedly elected consul, and afterwards, with the proconsular power over all the provinces; he was invested with all the most important dignities of the old republic. The title of Augustus, with which he was hailed by the people by the proposal of Munatius Plancus (SUET. *Oct.* 7), was conferred on him on January of the year 27 B. C.; and this title, called by Graecians *sebastós*, "venerable", "sacred" made his person sacred and inviolable he having also received the *tribunicia potestas*, or tribunician power. The emperor's wife was also decreed sacred and inviolable following the example of C. Octavianus himself who called "*augusta*" his wife Livia.



There is a legend, narrated by Suetonius, which was, during many years, strictly joined with the life and the fortune of the Caesars (*Galb.* I).

Livia Drusilla, - wife of Tiberius Claudius Nero, and married by C. Octavianus in the year 38 B. C., - was living in his villa on the Tiber near the *Ponte Milvio*, when an eagle let a white hen fall on her lap. The hen was holding in its beak a bough of laurel. The bough having been planted bloomed again and supplied afterwards the laurel for the imperial victors; the white hen

begot many little chickens which were considered as sacred animals. From that day the villa of Livia was called *ad Gallinas albas* (of the white hens) and with it, with its laurels and its modest birds the fortune itself of Augustus' lineage was strictly joined. And Suetonius in his *vita* of Galba says that at the death of Nero, the last emperor of the Augustan lineage, the last laurel withered away and the white descendants of the famous hen died also (PLIN. *Nat. hist.* XV, 136).

The highest dignity of *pontifex maximus* satiated the ambition of cunning Augustus. And when the Senate stated that before the palace of this emperor were to be planted the laurels to commemorate his triumphes and a crown of oak was to adorn the gate of his house as a recompense for the many citizens he had delivered from death, *ob cives servatos*, the *man* has already reached, in the popular mind, the dignity of *divus*, of God; and Ovid shall write the verses: "Long live, Palatine laurels; and thou also dwelling adorned by a sacred oak, resist to centuries of time; thou, who dost protect three divinities: Apollo, Vesta and Augustus." And Cæsar Augustus shall be venerated by the people as a personification on earth of the protecting Goddess of Rome. The way to the apotheosis and to the Olympus, - as Statius wrote (*Eq. max. Dom.*), - is then open to the future emperors.

XIII.

A "via Crucis" on the "clivus Apollinis" - The arch of Caius Octavius - The area of Apollo and the temple - The poet Propertius - Danaos and the Danaïds - The "mundus" and the dead - The doors of the temple - The Niobeans - The Sibylline books - Ruin of Seianus.

As we have observed, then, the group of the Augustan buildings extended from the Velia to the Circus Maximus. The lonely Via di S. Bonaventura, with the faded paintings of the *Via Crucis* by Antonio Bicchierai, now leads to the church erected in honor of the great Franciscan, in 1675 under Clement the Tenth. Almost all the topographers place in this neighbourhood, the *vicus Apollinis* of which mention is made upon a Capitoline pedestal which must have belonged to a monument erected to Hadrian's honor.

Lanciani in his classical *Forma urbis Romae* (tab. 29) places it at the end of the Via di S. Bonaventura. Thus, the sumptuous *propylaea* mentioned by Pliny, which

led to the group of the Augustan buildings, must have been almost on the place where is at present, the entrance to the Monastero della Visitazione, at the end of the Via di S. Bonaventura. There, as most people thinks, under the green grass and under the grove of the conventual garden, between the Flavian palace and the Stadium (which we shall shortly speak of), must have been the *Area Apollinis*, the area sacred to Apollo in the centre of which stood the classical temple of the God, solemnly dedicated by Augustus on October the 9th of the year 726 of Rome (28 B. C.), from which the near *vicus* took its name.

According to Pliny (*Nat. hist.* XXXVI, 4) the buildings were reached through an arch erected in honor of Caius Octavius by his son Cæsar Augustus in the centre of the *propylaea* themselves. Upon it was placed the quadriga of Apollo and Diana, a famous work made with an only block of marble by the sculptor Lysias.

And the sight beyond the arch of this master-piece must have been really wonderful. The poet Propertius in one of his ele-

gies give us a short, but efficacious description of it. According to the writings of Propertius, - who assisted at the inauguration of the famous monument, - and of others, we can almost reconstruct it with our imagination.

Along the larger sides of the great rectangle of the *area Apollinis* arose the two wings of the portico, with columns of *giallo antico* called "aurea" (golden) by the poet, - *aurea Phoebi porticus*, - because of the harmonic proportion of lines and the sumptuousness of the material. In the intercolumniations there were set in a line the statues of the fifty Danaïds (OVID. *Trist.* III 1, 61); and according to what an ancient scholiast of Persius wrote in his comment on the half verse *fratres inter ahenos*, some suppose that, along the portico, to complete the mythical ornamentation, the equestrian statues stood of the fifty Aegyptides (A. PERS. *Sat.* II 55).

And now, a few words about this ornamentation of the portico of Apollo:

According to the tales of the ancient mythographers, Danaos, king of Argus, son of Belus and head of the

family of the Belids, had fifty daughters whom he called " Danaïds ". His brother and competitor Aegyptus, having been left governor of the Libya, was, in his turn, father of the fifty " Aegyptides ", who, induced by their love for their cousins and hoping to make peace between their fathers, asked Danaos to give them in marriage the fifty Danaïds. But the old king, to whom an oracle foretold that he should have been dethroned by one of his sons-in-law, forced his daughters to swear to kill their husbands during the first night of their marriage. Having the Danaïds accomplished the deed, they buried their husbands' heads at Lerna. Only Ipermnestra broke her oath and did not kill her husband Lincaeus, who, later on, as the oracle predicted, dethroned Danaos. Ipermnestra was considered by posterity as the prototype of the affectionate and faithful wife and, together with her Lincaeus, head of the family of the Persids, had a sanctuary and was worshipped at Argus. But the other Danaïds were condemned, in the Avernus, to draw up water for ever and to pour it into bottomless vases (HOR. *Od.* III VIII). As some suppose the Danaïds would symbolise the rivers and the sources of the Argive territory, which every spring were in want of water. This fact induced a Danaïd king to dig wells in the Argive territory. The work was later on continued by the king's daughters, the mythic Danaïds who were considered, at Argus as the protecting geniuses of the wells themselves. This was probably the origin of the myth and of the fable which also Aeschilus speaks of.

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Propertius in the same elegy speaks also of a classical marble statue of Apollo in the act of singing accompanied by the zither, which seemed so beautiful to the poet as to rival the divine son of Latona.

This greek master-piece must have been situated in the centre of the portico itself and, apposite to an *ara* adorned by four splendid oxen in bronze by Myron:

*Atque aram circum steterant armenta Myronis
Quatuor artificis, vivida signa boves.*

In these verses the words *vivida signa* clearly shows how highly the work of the graecian artist was valued.

But the altar which the poet speaks of and which arose almost in the centre of the portico, had a high political and religious signification for the Romans. Some, according to Festus and Propertius, supposed that under this *ara* was the ancient Palatine *mundus*, the sacred ditch which marked the foundation of the city and indicated its sacred centre. But this supposition is contradicted by the discovery made by Boni in the subsoil of the Flavian palace. He found, in fact, the *Cereris mundus* in the Peristyle and exactly behind the apse of the *Aula regia*. Certainly the ritual ditch - sacred to the

Manes and to Ceres, which, according to OVID (*Fasti*, IV), served as a prelude to the foundation of the city, must have been situated at the point of intersection of the *cardo* and of the *decumanus* of the future city and then must have marked the sacred centre of the Roman town-walls.

The handful of seed and earth, - there thrown down by every farmer during the augural ceremony, - which the founders brought from their own countries to accomplish a vow made in a year of misfortune, went, together with the memories of the ancient fatherland, to consecrate the new country of their choice. The Penates of the *gens* with the *Lares*, the protecting gods of the place, took it under their protection, and the ground which gave hospitality to the new farmers, which was later on consecrated by the corpses of the *patres* buried there, would certainly have brought forth heroic men and an abundance of wheat.

The augury of the future prosperity was symbolised by *mundus Cereris*; and the lower portion of this *mundus* covered with the *lapis manalis* was consecrated to the memory of the *patres*, of the departed and ancient founders who had become *Manes* or "protecting geniuses." The ceremony of the opening of the *lapis manalis* was celebrated three times a year: on August 24th, on October 4th or 5th and on November 8th or 11th; it was announced by the calendars in these words: *mundus patet*. And it was thought that during some *religiosi dies* the inhabitants of the "future world" were able to show themselves to the living; they were, then, ho-

noured with libations of water, wine and milk, and they were also propitiated with the funereal ceremony of the *Feralia*, held on February 21 (OVID., *Fasti* II 533 sqq.).

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Tum medio clarum surgebat marmore templum

Propertius says; and we almost seem to perceive the artistic Augustan temple, all in white marble, with eight columns before it and others on each side of the cell. The fronton was adorned by greek sculpture. The summit, surmounted by the golden quadriga of Apollo in a glory of light, contended in splendour with the roof of golden tiles which seemed to flame in the glare of the sun. On the shutters of the marble cell of the sanctuary some ivory bas-reliefs reproduced two episodes of the protecting and avenging power of the god; on one of these shutters was represented the ire of Apollo in the act of overthrowing and exterminating the plundering Gauls who had dared to assail his famous temple at Delphi; in the other one, the punishment of Niobe, daughter of Tantalus and wife of Amphion,

king of Thebes. Proud of her seven sons and seven daughters, she gloried over Latoia who had but two: Apollo and Diana. But these latter killed them all, on which the weeping mother was turned, by Zeus, into a rock on the Sipylos in Lidia; and Pausanias says that this rock, seen from afar, seemed to be a weeping woman (Hom. *Iliad*. XXIV 602 sqq.; OVID. *Metam*. VI 11). A beautiful description of the Niobeian rock has been recently made by G. B. Stark in his *Nach dem Orient* (1874, p. 243). The Niobeian tragedy was taken as a subject by a græcian sculptor, we dont know if Scopas or Praxiteles. The classical group has been reproduced several times by other artists; the most famous reproduction was the one the remains of which, now at Florence, were discovered on the Esquiline in the xvth century, and were supposed by some to belong to the greek original recorded by Pliny (*Nat. hist.* XXXVI 4) and existing in the temple of Apollo Sosianus.

These are, then, the subjects represented on the shutters on the temple of Apollo. At the bottom of the cell there was the

group of Apollo playing the zither between Latona and Diana:

*Deinde inter matrem deus ipse, interque sororem
Pythius in longa carmina veste sonat.*

And perhaps the most beautiful zither player Apollo from Tibur (Tivoli), – now in the ‘Sala delle Muse’ at the Vatican, – is but a copy of that Apollo once existing in the Palatine temple.

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But if a venerable memory of the foundation of Rome was to be connected with the altar of the *mundus* before the temple, an ancient document sacred also to the destinies of Rome, was jealously kept in a rich coffer under the pedestal of the statue of the god: the famous *Libri Sibillini*, bought at an exorbitant price by the king Tarquinius. They were entrusted to the custody and to the study of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* who had to consult them and to interpret their answers the *sortes arcanaeque fata* in the most dangerous moments of Rome and of the Republic.

These are the concise informations given by Propertius and others about the temple of Apollo; and Pirro Ligorio narrates to have recognised its ruins in the year 1550, during some excavations made in the locality then in possession of Cristoforo Stati. In those days seem to have been discovered also the remains of a portion of the library of Augustus, some pedestals of columns, and capitals and remarkable architectural fragments along the side of the palace of Domitian looking East.

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In this temple, in the year 31 B. C. the powerful favourite L. Elius Seianus was suddenly arrested and put to death by order of Tiberius.

He was an hypocritical, and ambitious man given to every vice and was able to gain the confidence of the Emperor who, having retired to Capri was leading a wild life, and had confided full authority to him. He had Agrippina, wife of Germanicus, exiled to Pandataria and her sons Nero and Drusus died of starvation in prison. He poisoned also another Drusus son of Tiberius after having seduced his wife Livilla; he threw Rome into mourning, and he even aspired to the Empire. In a meeting of the Senate held in the *Area Apollinis*, Seianus having been deceived by some letters of Tiberius and consi-

dering himself to be in safety, did not notice that the praetorian guards, of whom he was perfect, had been substituted by the vigiles. Every exit having been closed, Græcinus Laco, prefect of the vigiles, arrested and killed Seianus by order of Nevius Sertorius Macro. All his family died together with him. The wife who was living apart from her condemned husband, having seen the corpses of her own sons shown at the "Scalae Gemoniae," being overcome with grief, and after having denounced, in writing, to Tiberius many other accomplices of Seianus, committed suicide (TAC. *Ann.* IV, V, VI; SUET. *Tiber.*; CASS. DIO *Hist.* LVIII).

XIV.

The libraries in Rome - Lucius Æmilius Paulus and L. Cornelius Sulla - The library of Augustus - Ovid and the probable causes of his ruin - The house of Augustus - Its vicissitudes - A banquet in times of famine - Augustus son of Apollo - The man in intimacy and in history.

The portico led to the greek and latin libraries, also built by Augustus and where, according to Horatius, as though under the protection of the God of the Muses, the writings of all kind of knowledge were collected (*Epist.* I, III, 17):

Scripta Palatinus quaecumque recepit Apollo.

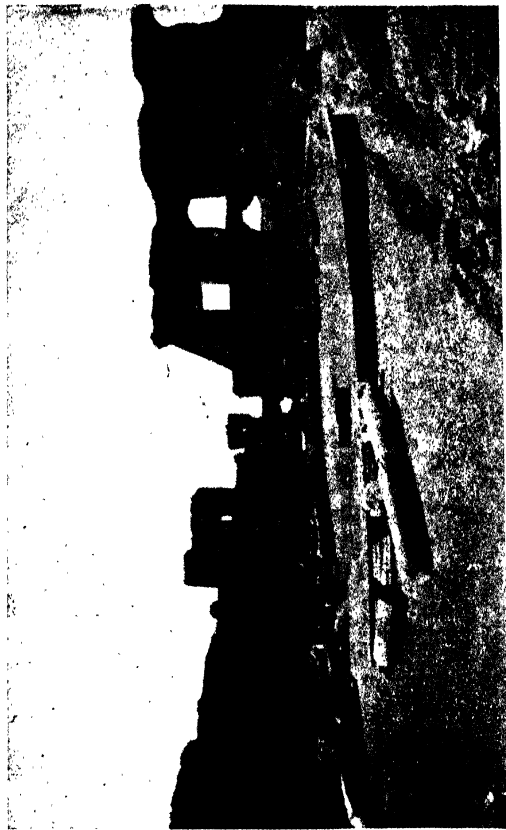
Only in an epoch relatively advanced did Rome have its libraries; the first was possessed by the consul L. Æmilius Paulus in the year 164 B. C. Having a thorough knowledge of the greek language he was mentioned by Cicero in his *Brutus* as one of the most celebrated orators of his time. His library was enriched by the booty captured during the war against the king Perseus, and which, - according to Velleius Paterculus (I, 9), - was valued about 200,000,000 sesterces. The great captain kept for himself alone the royal library, in order that his sons could make use of it for their own culture (PLUT. *P. Aem.* 28). It is related to prove his magnanimity and benignity, that he did his best to mitigate the miserable destiny of the conquered Perseus.

Later on, Lucius Cornelius Sulla brought from Athens to Rome the library of Apellikon. When the rich C. Licinius Lucullus (PLUT. *Luc.*), after the year 72, with what he had collected in Asia and in Greece, formed a new library, - a new treasure to adorn his somptuous abode, - so great became the desire of possessing books, that every wealthy man wished to have his private library. And Seneca laughed (*De anim. tranq.* 9) at the many foolish persons who, being intent on filling their houses with books roved about yawning in the midst of their literary treasures.

Pliny the younger (*Ep.* I, 8), lastly, refers that Tiburi and Como had their libraries in a very ancient epoch; but the first public library in Rome was founded by Asinius Pollio, about a century before Christ, in the temple of the Liberty on the Aventine.

Fig. XVII.

(From a photo by Mosconi).



Death hindered Julius Cæsar from founding and collecting in Rome a new and richer library; therefore C. Cæsar Octavianus, his great grandnephew built the enormous greek-latin library near the portico of Apollo; and almost all the topographers agree in recognising its remains in the ruins, so often examined and studied, near the "Convento di S. Bonaventura."

As we know the greek and latin works were collected in two different halls supervised by an employé and subalterns; all the employés were under a general superintendent, as we can learn from many funeral inscriptions where mention is made of several employés of the greek and latin libraries.

A bronze statue of Augustus with the features of Apollo is supposed to have been placed in the main-hall; and round the walls of the halls the portraits of the most celebrated graecian and latin writers were visible in artistic medallions.

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And now we seem to hear the far echo of the verses of the exiled Ovid, imploring in vain to see his poem

Tristia placed in the Royal Library or else in Pollio's, so that Augustus might, on reading it, be moved by the souvenir of his misfortune (*Trist.* III 1).

Notwithstanding the writings of the poet and the most accurate research, we cannot even now know with certainty why Augustus at 70 years of age and worn by domestic misfortune and suspicion, relegated in the 9th year of the Christian era the poet to Tomi on the Black Sea, where he died in the 17th year, i. e. four years after Augustus' death and during the Empire of Tiberius.

According to Ovid he fell into disgrace for two reasons: for *carmen et error* (*Trist.* II 1, 207); for his verses, then, and also, perhaps, for having been the involuntary witness of a fact which, – according to Augustus, – had to remain concealed (id. 103 sqq.):

Cur aliquid vidi? cur noxia lumina feci?
Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi?

It is impossible that the poet alludes to the intrigue of Augustus with Terentia the wife of Mecenatē as this was a too ancient and well known thing.

Nor was the very licentious little poem *De arte amatoria* the only reason of his condemnation, for it had been for many years an unholy pleasure delight and incentive in the alcoves of the corrupted and unprejudiced society of the city. Augustus on 11 B.C. relegated to Pandataria his daughter Julia, the dissolute widow of Agrippa and, afterwards, wife of Tiberius. Just at the time of Ovid's condemnation, the emperor exiled to Trimerus in Apulia his niece Julia whose customs were not less corrupted than her mother's. Was Ovid involved,

erroneously, with any scandalous love of the too licentious patrician woman?

The poet confirms that the *error* he is charged with is to be concealed by him: *culpa silenda mihi*; but on the matter of the *carmen*, he defends his artistic work and scornfully rejects the accusation of seducer and go-between of scandalous loves (*Trist.* II 1; I 11):

Altera pars superest: qua turpi crimine tactus

Arguor obscaeni doctor adulterii.

Stultaque mens nobis, non scelerata fuit.

Malignant courtesans being envious of Ovid because of the protection Augustus afforded him not only for his personal value, but also for the friendship which bound his wife Fabia to the emperor's family, were the cause, perhaps, of the poet's ruin. And it was not difficult to get the old, afflicted and suspicious emperor to think that the author of the little poem *De arte amatoria*, the favourite reading of the licentious Julia, might have been the accomplice of some of her immodest actions.

But the poet who, in the first elegy of the second book of his *Tristium*, ardently defends the objectivity of his own art, notwithstanding every accusation, swears that it shall be his comfort in his exile, because the misfortune which involved him, was the ruin of an innocent person:

Illam namque die, qua me malus abstulit error

Parva quidem periit, sed sine labe, domus.

It is also impossible, as it has been supposed, that he had any illicit relation with the empress Livia, – already rather... fanée, – for he was too attached to his wife Fabia. Nor did he encounter the anger of Augustus

because of his clandestine visit to the exiled Agrippa Postumus, the furious son of Vipsanius and Julia. The poet knew very well why he was detested together with his daughter and niece by Augustus who called them "his deadly canker, the dishonour of his family."

There is another supposition which seems to resume all the ones we have now touched upon. Ovid was a bosom friend of Paulus Fabius Maximus who greatly influenced Augustus. Did the poet try, together with his friend to engage Augustus' mind in favour of the relegated Agrippa? And Livia, trembling for the succession of her son Tiberius, perhaps first ruined the poet by accusing him of an involuntary fault and speaking ill of him.

And certainly she would have been helped by the mean court-favourites.

A little before his last illness, Augustus, accompanied by Paulus Fabius Maximus, went secretly to Planasia and paid a visit to Agrippa. After this touching meeting the Emperor seemed disposed to recall the prince from exile. Fabius Maximus related everything to Marcia who, in her turn, informed secretly Livia. We can easily imagine the results of this gossip. Fabius having been, probably poisoned, died not long after, and Marcia is said to have regretted, during his funeral, having been the unconscious cause of his death (TAC. *Ann.* I 5).

Just at this time, Ovid was more hopeful of the emperor's mercy. But, shortly after, the suffering Augustus died at Nola. So the poet died in his exile and the memory of him will be for ever connected with the famous library of the prince whom he flattered too much.

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In the night from the 18th to the 19th of March of the year 363 of the christian era, the temple and the library were destroyed by the terrible fire related by Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIII 3); only the *Libri Sibyllini* (Sibylline Books) were saved, which, as we have already said, were kept in the temple under the statue of the God. Moreover Pietro Sante Bartoli speaks of a supposed discovery of the coffer which, according to him, was splendidly inlaid and adorned.

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To one side of the casino of Villa Mills, through a modern staircase, we reach the ground-floor of the *domus Augustana* already discovered and partially studied by Rancourel. On the slope, from some windows, other rooms with remains of staircases are visible. There is also a large bath-room with all the marks of systematic vandalism.

Everything here has been devastated by Italian and foreign barbarians and specu-

lators. All that remained of the ancient decoration, which was impossible to turn to account, was left on the spot, dispised as useless. We hope that in the near future new and rational excavations may better define the ancient destination of these rooms recently discovered.

We arrive at last, at the bottom of the staircase. The earth is still obstructing and almost entirely covering the Peristyle of the house. Apparently the excavators of the XVIII century were contented with the exploration of a few rooms of the place, and after having made some other excavations here and there, they hastily drew out the design; and afterwards the earth covered everything again. We dont know what new discoveries will be made during the explorations just recommenced. Once the earth which now buries the Peristyle is carried away, we shall be able to study once more these important remains. Now-a-days only one row of rooms is accessible; and many of the rooms are still full of heaps of stones which, as it seems, are to be attributed to reconstructions and restorations

of the period from Domitian to Septimius Severus.

All these rooms of an elegant and peculiar mixtilineal architecture have lost their decorations and marble covering, and only the bare walls with niches to hold statues are now-a-day visible. In the times of Rancourel many of these statues were discovered, in different places, together with remarkable fragments. There is a report that two excavators shared between them, the most beautiful ornamentation of a *sterquilinium*. The same thing happened also to the other architectonical accessories of this place, the beauty of which must have been in a curious contrast with its too... prosaical destination. Only the famous *Apollo Sauroktonos*, which is believed to be a copy of the bronze by Praxiteles, is now in the 'Galleria delle Statue at the Vatican.' The beauty and finish of this master-piece gives us an approximate idea of the magnificence of the other sculptures which adorned the place.

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The middle hall seems to have been designed as a *triclinum*. Was it here, that the famous banquet called by Suetonius of the *dodecatheos*, took place? (SUET. *Oct.* 70). The guests who participated to it went disguised with the attributes of the twelve *Deorum Consentium*; Augustus took the part of Apollo. This masquerade was much talked of. M. Anthony used insulting language, in some of his letters, against everyone who participated in that banquet, and later on an anonymous poet strongly stigmatized it. This banquet having been held in time of great famine, caused great anger and discontent. And so the following day, the tumultuous mob was howling that the "Gods" swallowed up all the corn, and that Augustus was really Apollo, but a Torturing Apollo.

Suetonius, according to the witness of the *Theologumena* by Asclepias, refers that the fable was diffused of the descent of Augustus from Apollo who, under the aspect of a snake, had had some love relations with Atia the mother of Augustus. The fable not very flattering with regard to the emperor's father, explains to us why Augustus wished to take the attributes of Apollo at the banquet, and why he erected a sumptuous temple to this God on the Palatine. So it was not difficult, later on, to make the people believe the imposture of Numerius Atticus, who recounted of having seen the soul of Augustus ascending to heaven during the funeral in the *Campus Martius* (*Oct.* 94 sqq).

The courtesans' flattery stimulated the desire of the emperor whose greatest ambition was to be compared with Romulus, the mythical, ancient founder of the Palatine city.

But quite different must have been his private life with all his faulty failings which were countenanced, as it seems, by his cunning Livia. And when we are visiting the remains of this dwelling, we seem to perceive the pale figure of the old emperor walking lame from an ancient wound and weeping for his legions fallen under the blows of the barbarians of Arminius; he had no sons and he was at the mercy of the indifferent Livia and of the ambition of his step-son Tiberius. He was hated when he was young for the blood he shed; on the contrary he was feared, loved and even blessed when he grew old for the peace and the wealth he gave to the Republic; and it was said that he might either never have been born or else never have died.

XV.

The stadium of Domitian - Excavations and discoveries - Theodoricus and the hippodrome - A Vestal out of place - The imperial terrace and an ancient map of the world - Ovid, Copernicus and Newton - A necropolis in the Stadium - The sunset among the ruins.

Through a modern passage opened at the bottom of the Peristyle, by demolishing, with disputed taste, the remains of an ancient staircase, we reach the Palatine Sta-

dium, the monumental palestra for gymnastic exercises, which was built, as it appears from the imprints on the bricks, by Domitian and restored and embellished by Hadrian and Septimius Severus (*Fig. XVII*). It was called Stadium, according not only to its shape, but also to its length which was about equal to that of the olympic *stadion*, i. e. 600 hellenic feet, 625 roman feet with the ratio 24:25 (about meters 185), about the eighth share of the roman mile and the tenth of a geographical one (F. Lübker, *Antic. class. a. v.*).

Though the classical documents make no mention of a Stadium on the Palatine, nobody doubts that this oblongish space was used for those gymnastic exercises so loved by the ancients. The jump, the disk, the hurling of the javelin, the wrestling and, overall, the foot-race also called by Graecians *stádion* or *drómos* here had a classical camp before the despot of the roman world and his court. Who does not seem to perceive thereon Domitian, Commodus and Maximinus exercising themselves in their preferred games?

The left side of the edifice goes along the area occupied by the Augustan buildings; its rectilineal bottom is closed by the ruins which are supposed to belong to the two libraries of Augustus. Panvinio and Bianchini, who partially saw its remains, supposed it was the atrium of the house of Augustus; Marx (*Jahrbuch des Archeol. Ist.*) recognised in it a garden. And it is not to be excluded that Domitian transformed into a stadium a preexisting *xystus* with *gestatio*, i. e. a real garden with shady alleys, and surrounded by porticoes.

Over this place was the vineyard of Alessandro Ronconi, and the excavations begun in the xvi century and executed at intervals, lasted until the year 1892-93. Rodolfo Venturi in the *Archivio Storico dell'Arte* refers that, along the side towards the *Domus Augustana*, in the year 1570 several busts of marble statues have been discovered, - also mentioned by Flaminio Vacca, - which are believed to have belonged to amazons, statues which would have adorned the intercolumniations. Evidently the question is about some poor remains of the sta-

tues of the Danaïds, here thrown or fallen, in time of devastation, from the adjacent portico of Apollo. Here also the famous *Hercules* by Lysippus was discovered, which was bought 800 scudi by Cosimo III Medici and placed into the palazzo Pitti at Florence.



The long sides of this edifice were decorated by a double order of porticoes which, according to the imprints of the bricks therein discovered, are to be ascribed to the period of Hadrian (117-138 A. D.). The lower portico was formed by pillars with half columns of brick with marble pedestals and coverings in *portasanta*. Pirro Ligorio in 1552 saw some remains of the vault with stucco compartments. The same author who drew the plan of the edifice and left some informations which, as it seems, are not to be refused *in odium auctoris*, also refers that the upper portico was supported by *granito* and *cipollino* columns of composite order. The pedestals of two statues and other fragments were also di-

discovered along the axis of the Stadium. A hall is also mentioned, with columns between two courtyards, behind the rectilinear bottom, before the Convento di S. Bonaventura, which, perhaps, belonged to the Library. Now-a-days a few rooms with the ceilings in compartments are still visible here, and a staircase discovered in 1817, through which we shall mount to the area overlooking the Stadium.

The later discoveries have confirmed, in a great degree, the writings of the so much discussed Pirro Ligorio.



At the end which faces the rectilinear one with rooms, i. e. toward the Circus Maximus, the stadium ends with a curvilinear construction with wide openings very effective and picturesque, especially at sunset. At both the central ends the remains of two decorative fountains are visible, which probably indicated the goal for the foot-races. The one towards the Circus Maximus, under the curvilinear wall, was shut up, later

which, as it seems, are to be referred to the athletes and to the gymnastic exercises of that place. In the central hall there was a painting representing an object like a globe or map of the world sustained by a tripod. We don't know if it represented the terrestrial globe, but, in any case, everybody knows that the sphericity of the world sustained from the times of Aristotle (*Meteor.* II 7) was later on asserted by many learned Graecians and Romans and particularly by the poet Ovid who said that the temple of Vesta was circular resembling in that the world of which it was the symbol; and the genial poet foretold the theories of Copernicus and Newton when, with the movement of the earth he explained his law of equilibrium in the space (*Fast.* VI, 269 sqq.):

*Terra pilae similis, nullo fulcimine nixa,
Aëre subiecto tam grave pendet onus.
Ipsa volubilitas libratum sustinet orbem.*

* *

When the pavement of the Imperial tribune collapsed, it filled up the halls beneath with heaps of stones; which happened after the XIII century when the Frangipani, mas-

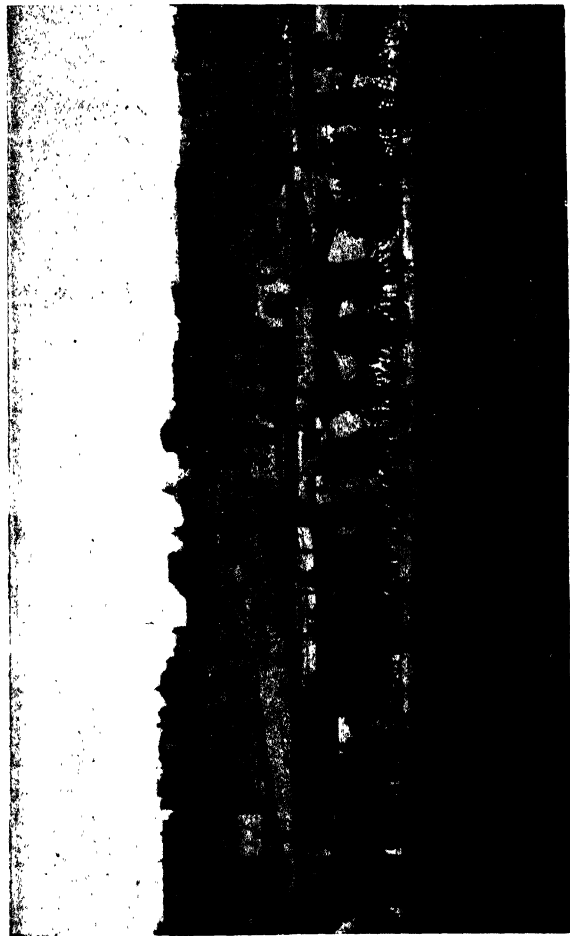
Fig. XVIII.

(From a photo by Moscioni).



Fig. XIX.

(From a photo by Mosctont).



ters of the Palatine, had, here and there, fortified it with valid work of defence. During this period of the research, in a corner of the central hall have been unearthed thirty skeleton which seemed to have belonged to very young persons having suffered a violent death. Very probably they fell in one of those struggles which were so frequent in that turbulent period. And that little improvised mediaeval necropolis was covered by the crumbling of the vaults of the terrace.

The columns of oriental granite ranged on the ground before the terrace must have participated in its decoration.

On a huge semicircle was the magnificent tribune of the Stadium, sumptuously adorned by marbles and niches with statues.

The façade was formed by many smooth columns; other channeled columns were in the interior. Except some poor, crippled, lacerated fragments, bare walls, pale paintings, nothing now remains of the artistic space from which the Emperors assisted at the gymnastic and athletic games of the Stadium of Domitian.

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Now let us leave the Stadium by the staircase which is at the bottom, to the right of the rectilineal side. This staircase also maintains the vestiges of its beautiful marble decoration. From the height of this area we can admire the imposing lines of the Stadium. The panorama is, here, really wonderful, especially at sunset. At the bottom the curvilineal side with its gigantic openings; to the left, the Imperial terrace; to the right, the reddish and strange small palace of Villa Mills; behind, the few walls of the Augustan Library and the lonely church of S. Bonaventura delicately touched by the last beams of the dying sun... while the ruins of the Stadium, little by little, as a far and vanishing vision, lose the contours of their classical lines; presently the slow, monotonous knell-tolling of the bells of the lonely Franciscan cloister will resound among these sacred ruins... and the shrill voice of the owl... And a poet in this transition from a glory of light full of memories, to the solemn silence of evening,

would certainly perceive a symbol of the fatal path of the Roman power towards the oblivion and the overhanging night of the Middle-Ages.

XVI.

Septimius Severus, his palaces and baths – The Claudian aqueduct – The ambition of an Italo-African emperor – The Septizonium and why it was so called – Sixtus V, Domenico Fontana and his vandalism – The Septizonium in the centuries – The wrongs of a great pope and how his death was announced by the municipal magistrates of Rome – Caracalla in his paternal house.

But many other wonderful and suggestive views are waiting for us.

Let us turn behind the gigantic exhedra, through the wide semicircular corridor, of which the vault with compartments still maintains, in some parts, its gilding, and let us look a moment at the empty space of the imperial terrace. The marble pavement having been ingulfed, disappeared, and we get giddy, as on the brink of a precipice.

We are among other ruins which are supposed to be those of an imperial bath; many topographers, in fact, called them "*balneum imperatoris*". These baths constructed, certainly, by Septimius Severus (193-211 A. D.), were, probably, supplied with the water Claudia coming from the Neronian aqueducts of the Caelius. And the remains of the Severian aqueducts, which had in some places, four stories of archs, are still visible, at this side and at the foot of the Palatine, along the alley of S. Gregorio, in the ancient vineyard of the "Fate-bene-Fratelli" (*Fig. XVIII*). Untill November 1596, other remains of the aqueduct in question, were visible in the near Orto Botanico. This construction of the african emperor was 425 meters long and 42 high; and we are not mistaken in thinking that the despot was forced to bring up the *aqua Claudia* to the level of the area, or masonry platform constructed by him on this side of the Palatine to build thereon his palace, which we shall shortly speak of; one of the last and bold buildings of the Imperial Rome.

Pirro Ligorio speaks of a « water receptacle » or *piscina limaria* which was in the neighbourhood of the Convento di S. Bonaventura, and into which the emperor Domitian, by means of a lead pipe 30 cm. in diameter, made the Claudia water flow from the temple of Claudius, the ruins of which are still visible on the side of the Church of the Ss. Giovanni e Paolo on the Caelius. This waterwork, after having been enlarged, was certainly used by Septimius Severus to supply his *thermae* with a greater quantity of water.



The emperor Septimius Severus was born from an equestrian Roman family in 145 A. D. at Leptis Magna, a remarkable Phœnician town of the African coast between the two Syrtes, not far from the modern Lebda. He wished to build, on the Palatine, his monumental residence which, according to historians, filled with delight and admiration everyone who entered the

city for the first time by the Trigemina or Capena gates lying below.

The emperor was forced to choose this corner of the Palatine, between the Circus Maximus and the Caelius because the hill was almost completely full of buildings and occupied by gardens. The irregularity, or rather the steep slope of this side of the hill, induced the imperial architects to build upon many stories of gigantic piers and masonry arcades, a wide platform in order to reach the level of the preexisting buildings. Upon this marvellous construction the imperial architects erected the dwelling of the emperor.

The arcades still visible along the *via dei Cerchi* (*Fig. XIX*) which overlooked, formerly, the Circus Maximus, may give us an idea of the imposing Severian construction which before the Capena gate and the Caelius turned to the modern alley of S. Gregorio, once a portion of the *via Triumphalis*.

To conceal and to adorn the not very esthetic mole rising more than 50 meters over the arena of the Circus Maximus and

the *via Triumphalis*, a façade was built with several rows of porticoes and covered galleries with smooth and channeled columns of granite, giallo antico and africano marbles. And if the new edifice was inferior, in regard to art, to the other imperial buildings, it surpassed them with its great abundance of precious marble. It was called *Septizonium*, and there has been much discussion about the origin of this name.



In the Middle-Ages it is made mention of the *Septizonium* in various documents, but with the corrupted names of *Septem solium*, *sedes Solis* and *Septisolia*. The name of *sedes Solis* and also of « temple of the Sun » was given it, for it was erroneously thought, perhaps, to be the ancient temple of the Sun and of the Moon named by Tacitus *apud Circum*, « near the Circus » (*Ann.* XV 74). There has been much discussion whether it had *seven stories* or less. The former was the opinion of Cagnina. Jordan, Scamozzi, Becker and others,

on the contrary, declared that it had only three stories. But the illustrious prof. Lanciani concludes as follows:

If the word *septifolium* means a plant with seven leaves and the word *septimontium* signifies a place with seven mountains the voice *septizonium*, in such a case, is to be attributed to an edifice of seven zones or stripes. But for the notion itself of the word *zone*, i. e. "belt", these belts, according to Casaubono (*Not. in Hist. Aug. Script.*, Paris, 1053, p. 268, n. 20), were but the epistyles and the frames which interrupt the vertical lines of the columns. If it is true that this edifice with its structure alluded to the seven stripes of the sky [*the seven atmospheres, according to the ancient platonical opinion later on accepted by the philosophers and theologians of the Middle-Ages*], it is also true that, in the nature itself of the thing, it was able to symbolise them only by means of seven stories. Allowing for the first zone the horizontal line of the basement, six orders of columns will be necessary to construct a *septizonium*, the seventh zone being formed by the frame of the sixth and last colonnade. A very common and approved opinion is that the first floor or basement of the *Septizonium* is still buried; three other floors are represented by ancient drawings; so that two other floors are wanting to complete the seven stripes; and we are inclined to believe that these two floors have formerly existed, in one side, however, of the edifice. Our opinion is partially confirmed by the fact that if, after so many demolitions suffered, in the Middle-Ages,

by ancient roman monuments reduced into towers - for instance the havoc made in 1257 by senator Brancalone, and in 1313 by Arlotto degli Stefaneschi - the Septizonium still preserved at the time of Sixtus V, four stories, originally they must have been... more.

Now, before concluding this note, let us remember that in modern times an authentic magnificent *septizonium* is formed by the "Leaning Tower" of Pisa. Its stories were, originally, seven, the eighth one having been added one century after (MORRONA, *Pisa illustrata*, I, p. 250). The architects Guglielmo Tedesco e Bonanno Pisano took the idea from the seven skies of the ancient system (*Guida del Palatino*, ecc., Roma, 1873, p. 50).

These opinions of the illustrious roman archaeologist have been partially accepted, also by my regretted friend D. Cancogni (*Le rovine*, ecc., p. 159), who, believing that the *Septizonium*, to the side looking the Capena gate, hid the whole of the Severian buildings, and that it had *seven* stories of columns instead of *six* as Lanciani supposed, adds:

If we consider that the three stories of columns [*still remaining at the time of Sixtus V*] - reaching comprehensively the height of meters 25.64 - would have barely hidden, externally, the height of the substruction, the opinion we have manifested above is still more acceptable.

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Lanciani, in 1873 supposep a story of the *septisonium* was still buried; so he speaks of four stories remaining at the time of Sixtus V: but in a print of the xvi century only three stories of the portico are visible. And it is to be remembered that when in 1589, the architect Domenico Fontana, with deplorable vandalism and by order of Sixtus the Fifth, began the demolition of the last remains of the celebrated monument, in the neighbourhood of the Piazza S. Gregorio an excavation was made 13 meters long, 12 wide and 6 deep. All the travertine and peperine blocks of the stylobate and of the foundations of the monument, were then uprooted as from a useless pile of stones; and the ruthless work was stopped only when the enraged pick-axe « came into contact with the platform of chip of stones and flint, upon which the whole structure had been erected ».

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In the viiith century the *Septizonium*, by the carelessness of the men and by the turbulent times, was no longer the magnificent monument of the Severian epoch. The anonymous Barberinianus copied 45 letters of the commemorative inscription on the right hand side towards the arch of Constantine; 118 letters were able to be copied by the Einsiedeln scribe (Urlichs, *Codex urbis Romae topographicus*) on the left of the construction towards the Circus Maximus: IMP·CAES·DIVI·M·ANTONINI·PII·GERM·SARM·FIL·DIVI·COMODI·FRATER·DIVI·ANTONINI·PII·NEP·DIVI·HADRIANI PRONEP·DIVI·TRAIANI·PART·ABNEP·DIVI·NERVAE..... (?)

From a flaw in a portion of the inscription we may conclude that in the viiith century the side of the *Septizonium* looking towards the Capena and the Appian Way, has already fallen into ruin; and in the Middle-Age it was called *Septem solia maior* the side looking towards the present Via dei Cerchi, and *Septem solia minor* and *ad Nimphea* its other side facing the Viale di S. Gregorio. The denomination *ad Nimphea* is to be attributed, perhaps, to the vicinity of the aqueducts which put one in mind of baths and fountains.

From a document of the year 975 we learn that the *Septizonium*, 38 archs of which were still subsisting towards the Circus Maximus, became the possession of the "Monaci dei Ss. Gregorio ed Andrea" on the Cælius.

And the *Septizonim*, which was then almost a stronghold, under the impulse of the events was transformed into a real fortress; which happened also to many other roman monuments. The transformation was fatal to the old giant. In 1084 during the struggle for the Investitures between Henry the Fourth and pope Gregory the Seventh, Rusticus, nephew of the pontiff, was besieged there by the German hordes. It is not easy to describe what damages were suffered by the *Septizonium* on the subsequent arrival of Roberto il Guiscardo and after. War machines, fire, demolitions, everything combined to ruin the mole of Severus which in the XIIth century had almost completely lost its magnificence.

From 1145 this skeleton of the ancient giant, this falling monument, together with the other ruins of the palace of Septimius Severus, became the property of different leaseholders; at first the Frangipanis and, later on, many private persons who, from the Monaci di S. Gregorio, hired its porticoes and other places still good for use. And not long ago, all around and between the arcades, many hovels, stables and hay-lofts were still visible. But before this last destination, in 1257 and in 1313 senator Brancaleone and Arlotto degli Stefaneschi had caused the penultimate ruin of the Septizonium which still might have been a dreaded bulwark in the hands of the enemy, as also of many other roman monuments transformed into fortresses. It was a sad period when, the Guelphic fortresses having been destroyed by the Ghibellines, after the battle at Tagliacozzo the Guelphs replied by razing to the ground houses, towers and for-

tifications of their hated enemies ; and some documents of those times refer that many ancient monuments were almost demolished in order to hinder the adversary from rebuilding upon them towers and small fortresses.

And we should be lucky if we could still see the *Septizonium*, at least as it was in the time of Sixtus the Fifth. But it was this very same pope who, in spite of his many acts of destruction conferred great benefits on the Eternal City, who, however, completed the destruction of this famous Severian building. And not less blameworthy were his architects, especially Domenico Fontana whose vandalism we have already spoken of.

Blocks of marble and travertine from the destroyed *Septizonium* were used in the Palazzo Lateranense, in the pedestals of the obelisk of the Piazza del Popolo and of the column of M. Aurelius. Marbles and columns were carried into the Basilica di S. Maria Maggiore for the chapel of the Holy Sacrament and for the tombs of Pius the Fifth and Sixtus the Fifth. Also from the *Septizonium* are the two columns of granite which now flank the entrance to the palace of the Cancelleria ; and we are not far from the truth when we say that in every building ordered by Sixtus, besides the spoils of other monuments also those of the monumental façade of the Severian palaces have been employed. And all this devastation was excused by too partisan apologists, by saying that the remains of the old imperial dwelling, on account of their unsafe condition were not only ugly, but a danger to the public safety. But we must observe that the later Pontiffs have thought quite differently, by the

way they have restored the remaining roman monuments. And still to day the Flavian amphitheatre, with its colossal pillars and the reconstructed arcades testifies to the veneration the later popes had towards classical antiquity, in strange contrast to what Sixtus V was about to make of the old roman colossus. Had this pope lived few years more we should see, now, a portion of the mediæval *via Papalis* crossing the vacant space of the Coliseum and joining itself to the street leading to the Lateran, the triumphal itinerary of the popes who were going to the Basilica Costantiniana for the solemn taking over of the government!...

So we are **not surprised** at that the Municipal Magistrates (*Curatores rerum Urbis*) thus announced the death of the pope to the Roman people on Monday, August 24, 1590: *Hodie Sanctissimus Dominus noster Xystus papa quintus omnibus congratulantibus et maxima omnium laetitia, diem suum clausit extremum.* - « To-day, our most Holy Lord, Pope Sixtus V, has departed this life, amidst the rejoicings and mutual congratulations of all classes of citizens » (LANCIANI, *Bull. Arch. Com.* 1894, pp. 138-157; *The destruction of ancient Rome*, p. 238).

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Very few remains of the Severian buildings are still visible on the top of the hill.

Remains which are very reasonably attributed to portions of the palace and to

the annexed *thermae*; a staircase leads up to a hall with remains of a mosaïc pavement; another staircase only partially practicable leads to the lower floors through which, among dark rooms and ruins full of earth and destroyed walls, we reach other rooms still decorated with paintings of no artistic value.

Did not Caracalla fear, when he was wandering through the sumptuous halls of his paternal house, of seeing the ghosts of Septimius and Geta arising and reproaching him with the incest with his step-mother Julia Domna Augusta and also the fratricide? It was, perhaps, here that in 212 A.D. the sentence of death was pronounced upon the most magnanimous Papinianus, — called *iuris asylum et doctrinae legalis thesaurum* by Spartianus, and «the symbol of the human law» by St. Jerome, — guilty only of not having excused the fratricide of the prince before the Senate, already humbled enough.

Certainly numerous and dramatic are the souvenirs which crowd the mind of a visitor who is remembering Cassius Dion, Spartianus and the other writers of the *Historia Augusta*; a poet would find much fascinating inspiration here and would only be distracted by the many and many other souvenirs roused by the wonderful view he could enjoy from the height of the near Severian covered gallery overlooking the Murcia, the Aventine and the Cælius.

XVII.

A classical panorama – The Circus Maximus, the wagers, the ancestors of our "book-maker", the horse-races and Dionysius of Halicarnassus – A historical country – From the Altar of Hercules to... "mastro Titta" – The rope-makers on the area of the Circus.

Through a path and a little bridge, always among fallen walls and ruins, we reach the « Belvedere » which runs all the side of the covered-galleries of Severus towards the Circus Maximus (*Fig XIX*).

The panorama from this elevated spot is very imposing and suggestive. To the left the Coliseum with its lines stands above the trees of Via Ss. Gregorio and the houses. The Caelius with the church of " Ss. Giovanni e Paolo " and the Clivus of Scaurus recalls to our mind the gloomy judiciary tragedy of which, under Julian the Apostate (361-363 A. D.), the two Christian patricians clandestinely beheaded in their own houses were the victims. The church of S. Gregorio and the annexed chapels of S. Andrea and S. Silyia remind us of the ancient roman convent erected among the houses of the Anicii, where the great Pope, justly called « the last of the Romans », passed his youth of penance. ... Let us glance over the underlying " Passeggiata Archeologica ".

Fig. XX.

(From a photo by Morpurgo)



The Platea and the Passeggiata Archeologica.

Fig. XXI.

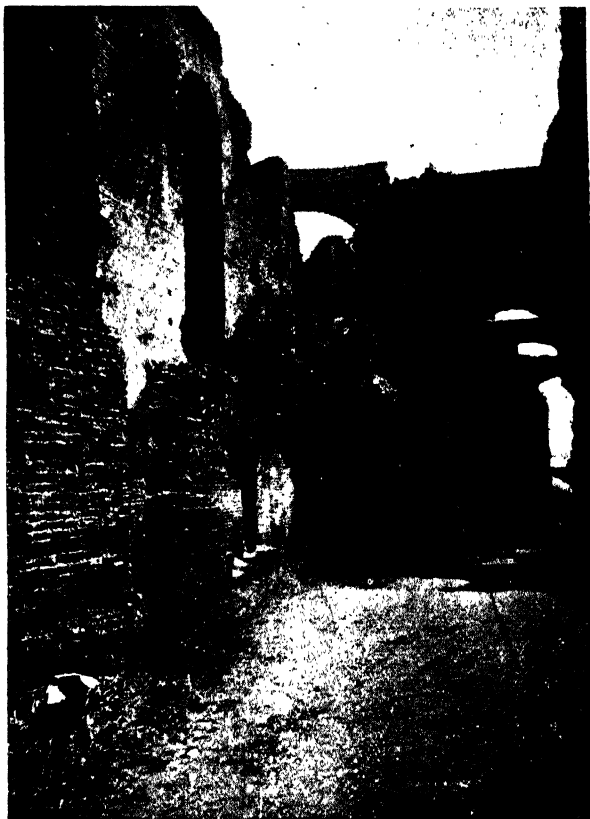
(From a photo by Morpurgo).



Constructions on the corner of the Stadium looking S. W.

Fig. XXII.

(From a photo by Morpurgo).



Severian substructions.

The ruin of a small mediaeval fortress on the grass of the park shows the position of the Capena gate (*Fig. XX*).

In this neighbourhood the youth Horace, coming back from the victorious fight against the three champions from Alba Longa, killed his sister who was mourning more the loss of her betrothed fallen in the struggle against Rome than the loss of her brothers. At the time of Livy, the grave of the wretched girl was still to be seen. There began the Appian Way, the white trace of which, flanked by ruins, is easily recognisable across the Roman Campagna.

Here, on July 19 of the year 64 of the Christian era, the first flames broke out of the terrible conflagration which nine days after reduced a great portion of the old Rome into a heap of smoking ruins. Beneath were some *horrea* or granaries which Nero set fire to in order to open a new area for the new buildings he wished for. A circumstance which will always be remembered by the people as a valid accusation against the foolish Emperor who, not imprudently, but with deliberate intention, caused the burning of the city (*Tac. Ann. XV 38 sqq.*; *Suet. Nero 38*; *Oros. VII 7*; *Xiph. from Cass. Dio, LXII 16 sqq.*; *Sulp. Sev. Hist. sacr. II 29*).

Along the Appian Way, to the right, is the reddish mass of the *thermae* of Antoninus Bassianus Caracalla; and not very near, the Porta S. Sebastiano and the round sepulchre of Caecilia Metella, daughter of Metellus Creticus, wife of Crassus junior. The depression of the Appian Way obstructs the view of the Basilica of St. Sebastian, but there below the student may recognize the

classical area under which the galleries of the famous Christian cemeteries shoot out in branches. The background of the magnificent panorama is formed by the Latian hills, the delightful little towns of which are brilliantly lit by the rays of the setting sun.

Let us turn, now, to the right: we see the Porta Ostiense and very far off below the Basilica of St. Paul, and the golden streak of the Tiber; yonder, behind the shore of Ostia, and

Dove l'acqua di Tevere s'insala

we perceive the Isola Sacra which was supposed to be a hellish refuge for the wicked spirits and where, according to the mediaeval opinion accepted also by Dante (*Purg.* II).

..... *si ricoglie*
Qual verso d'Acheronte non si cala.

Towards the city this wonderful scene is closed by the half-wild and woody Aventine with all its mediaeval memories. There the historical figures of Jerome, Crescentius, Otho-III, Dominic Guzman and Tommaso d'Aquino thought and acted.

No better historical scene, than this could ravish the visitor, who is led from the most distant mythical times to the turbulent days of mediaeval Rome! Up here Poussin, Lord Byron and Gregorovius frequently stopped and meditated among the falling ruins of the *Septizonium*.

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From the Severian covered gallery and by a narrow platform, we reach the ruins of the near imperial *pulvinar* (*Fig. XIX*).

Very few remains of this building which overlooked the whole area of the Circus Maximus and the Murcia between the Aventine and the Palatine, are still visible.

In the inner room the Emperor might withdraw himself, during the spectacle, to speak about State affairs, to receive the messengers, the petitions, and to give written orders; it was well known, in fact, that J. Caesar and Augustus had been criticised for having treated of such affairs in their box, before the public (*Suet. Oct. 45*).

To the side of the lodge there is a small tower from which the signal of the arrival of the Emperor and of the beginning of the games was given.

The Circus Maximus was founded in the 11th century of Rome by Tarquinius Priscus in the Murcia itself where, as we have already said, the Sabine girls were ravished by the Roman young-men during the games to the honor of the god *Consus* or Neptune. Later on it was enlarged

and enriched by works of art, with large flights of steps and porticoes which, according to the *Notitia*, could accommodate 485,000 spectators. On the middle line there were the two obelisks which, later on, Sixtus the Fifth carried to the Piazza del Popolo and Piazza Lateranense; statues, niches, smoking tripods adorned with flowers. With its *carceres* from which the cars were starting and the *porta triumphalis* (triumphal gate) on the opposite semicircle towards the Capena, it was a sight really worthy of Rome. The crowd rushed in thronging the passages, on the stairs, every one was looking for the best place. After a moment of delay in the signal to commence the games, and that numerous and disordered multitude will rise up like an angry sea. Here, in the amphitheatres the sovereign to be feared is the people.

Whilst the sacrifices and the other ritual ceremonies opening the games are prepared the crowd was persistently speaking about the names and the skilfulness of the *agitatores circenses* or charioteers of the Circus of the four "factions" which will strive for the triumphal palm, the cars of which, will shortly be drawn up before the *carceres*, to the bottom of the Circus: these factions were named *albata* (white), *prasina* (green), *russata* (red), *veneta* (blue). The number of the squadrons was increased by Domitian by the addition of the *factio aurata* (golden) and the *factio purpurea* (purple). Tertullianus, in the IIIrd century, exclaims (*De spect.* 16): « Look! with what a tumultuous impetuosity the crowd is coming running to the spectacle! It is excited by the bets! » The *sponsores* or gamblers, in fact, making a devilish bustle, are betting to their last penny.

The bets were received by the *receptores*, the ancestors of our book-makers. A shake of the hand, a few ciphers written upon a ticket against the anticipated payment of the *sponsio*; and it is done. Ovid (*Art. Amat.* I) says :

. . . tangitque manu, poscitque libellum
Et quaerit, posito pignore, vincat uter.

But the same poet adds (*Amor.* III, 2) :

Sed iam pompa venit, linguis animisque favete !
Tempus adest plausus, aurea pompa venit !

*
* * *

And now we give, here below, the narration made by another eye-witness ; by Dionysius of Halicarnassus who died in the 8th year before Christ :

« Before the spectacle the most illustrious persons for dignity and prower, led the train from the Capitol, through the Forum, to the Circus Maximus. Those young-men, sons of cavaliers, who, having almost reached puberty were able to participate in the ceremony were the first to enter the Circus, on horseback ; the other youngmen came behind them, like future foot-soldiers ; in order to show off well the Roman youth they were divided into wings, centuries, and orders of classes, as though they were going to a literary game. The *quadrigarii*, *trigarii* and *bigarii* with the runners on horseback, followed ; then came the various kinds of athletes almost completely naked only wearing a pair of

short breeches, which custom, now-a-days is still followed, and was already used by the Graecians...

« Three squadrons of jumpers came after the athletes; then the tibicens with their short and ancient wind-instruments; and the zithern-players with their ivory zithers called *barbite*.

« The jumpers were wearing a short flame colored tunic with a bronze belt the sword at the side and a spear, shorter than the ordinary one, in the hand: some of these jumpers had their heads covered by a bronze helmet adorned by a beautiful plume.

« Each squadron was preceded by the choir leader who was beating the time for the dance and intoning war songs which were answered by turn: this was an exercise already known in Greece under the name of *pyrrhic dance* for it was supposed to take its origin from Minerva who is said to have danced it still armed, after having conquered the Titans; or, again, because it is supposed to have been invented by the Curetes when they, according to the fables, drowned the cries of infant Jupiter, on mount Ida, with songs and noise of arms and dances.

« The jumpers were followed by the Satyrs. Those who were representing Silenus... put on a hairy skin with flowers, vine-tendrils and branches; the others put on a goat skin and imitated and mocked the dancers... Romans take delight in this custom even in the triumphs: for it is allowed to those who follow a triumphal procession to sing any satirical verses addressed to the victor however great and illustrious he be: at Athens the

conqueror and his triumphal procession were received with sarcastic wit; now extemporary verses are employed and at the funerals of wealthy persons there are always many satirical dancers. I will not enlarge upon the question whether we owe this custom to the Ligurians, to the Umbrians or to other barbarian people of Italy... so as not to annoy the reader with an already well known fact.

« The zithern-players and the trumpeters followed the Satyrs, and then, several persons with censers, golden- and silver vases in which rare and costly perfumes were burn. The train was closed by simulacres bearers with the same clothes, attributes and ensigns used among the Graecians: and not only Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Neptune and others, enumerated by Graecians among the great Gods, but also the most ancient divinities such as Saturn, Rhea, Latona, the Parcae, the Memory, Proserpina, Lucina, the Muses, the Graces, Bacchus; and the demigods, whose souls, after death, ascended the Olympus, i. e., Hercules, Aesculapius, the Castors, and many others...

« When the procession was ended, the consuls, the priests and the *victimarii*, according, to the custom of the time, made the offerings...

« As soon as the sacrifices had been accomplished, the games began; and, as it is now in use at Olympia, the first to run were the *quadrigae*, then the *bigae* and afterwards the horses with their riders.

« In these games many ancient customs, – as the race of the *trigarii*, no longer used in Greece but related

by Homer, – are still maintained by the Romans. To the two horses harnessed to the biga a third one was added called by Graecians *paréoron*. The other race was that of the jumpers, a most ancient habit still continued in Greece: no sooner was the horse-race finished, than those men who were, before, with the coachmen on the cars, called *parabátas* by poets and *approbátas* by Athenians, alighted from the vehicles and began to run and mount the horses in the Circus.

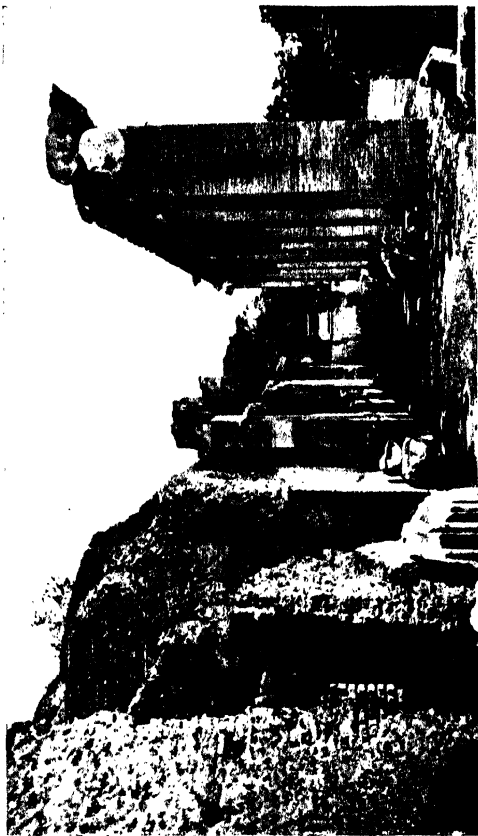
« After followed the athletic games, the wrestle, and the pugilism. All the three are related by Homer in the funerals of Patroclus. Lastly, when the spectacle was half over those who had deserved well of the Republic were crowned, and their names and exploits were proclaimed, according to the worthy Greek custom, and as it had been already done at Athens during the games sacred to Bacchus » (*Arch.* VII, 72).

* * *

This is the description of the *ludi circenses*, – as they were celebrated in anterior ages, – made by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the student of Roman antiquities. And here, like elsewhere, the Græcian author tries to show, with a political aim, an affinity much desired of origin, religion and customs between the Græcians and the Romans. But the games celebrated in the subsequent ages were, certainly, more sumptuous and imposing. Caligola and Nero ordered, in fact, that the

Fig. XXIII.

(From a photo by Mosconi).



The so-called *domus Gelofiana*.

arena be strewed with powder the colour of saffron, bits of a white, specular stone, minium and crysocolle (Suet. *Ner.* 25; *Cal.* 18; *Plin. Nat. hist.* XXIII, 5; XXVI, 45; *Flav. Vopisc. Carin.* 19).

Now-a-days the visitor no longer has the impressing spectacle of a delirious mob who, howling their applause, incites the driver to fly like a whirlwind upsetting all and everything obstructing his passage to the goal he is frantically trying to reach; but he recalls to mind the last games celebrated under the dominion of the Goths in the year 549 of the Christian era, when the few and degenerate persons who assisted at the spectacle were but the phantom of those who had been once the greatest people of the world.

* * *

The visitor, now, glances over the « *Passeggiata Archeologica* » and he hardly perceives there below, on a level with the ground, the constructions of the curved side of the Circus.

There stood the triumphal gate decorated by an arch erected to Titus in the year 81 of Christ, of which the inscription commemorating the fall of Jerusalem was copied in the VIIIth century by the Anonymous of Einsiedeln. There, a little tower, reminds us of the Frangipani, Gelasius the Second, – the pope who was imprisoned as soon as he had been elected, – Alexander the Third, St. Francesco d'Assisi and the pathetic "fra Jacopone da Todi".

Towards the beginning of the Via dei Cerchi, beyond the *carceres* or starting line of the races, the visitor seems again to perceive a country full of monuments and legends: the altar of Hercules, the worship of the *Mater Matuta*, of the *Fortuna Virilis*, and the tumultuous life at the end of the *vicus Tuscus*; the school where St. Austin taught; the *Ripa Graeca* and S. Maria in Cosmedin; a quarter inhabited by bad women, and S. Maria Egiziaca; Cola di Rienzi haranguing the people before the near church of St. Giorgio in Velabro, and . . . "mastro Titta", Giovanni Battista Bugatti, the sadly celebrated executioner of Rome puts an end to this phantasmagoria. There below, a little beyond the area of the Circus, he hoisted the last time, in 1867, his truculent gibbet.

Below the immense amphitheatre appears the green Janiculum, no less celebrated by the ancients for heroical war exploits which, in the near future, will seem a legend; and from the top of the hill the statue of Garibaldi seems to domineer the theatre of the short, but epic defence of Rome, whilst at a distance the windows of the Vatican Cupola, like the mouthes of a huge furnace, seem to fire in the reflection of the sun.

Does the visitor know that until few years ago, along the area of the *Circus Maximus*, like a scoffing parody of ancient Fates, – the arbiters of life and time, – some peasants, with the apron full of hemp, were occupied in interwinning ropes?

For many people, perhaps, this strange going aback of the poor rope-maker, may have been a symbol among those historical ruins.

XVIII.

The Severian substructions - The "Domus Gelotiana" and Caligula - Historical and scoffing "graffiti" Alexamenos and the caricature of our Lord - An "excubitorium" and a "stabulum"? - A prehistoric corner of the Palatine.

Before leaving this elevated spot, let us stop still a moment to admire the picturesque group of ruins which, at this, side, close the Stadium (*Fig. XXI*). The panorama of the city makes a wonderful background to them. From this place the whole Villa Mills is visible with the area of the Augustan group.

Through alleys and stairs we reach the lower floor of the arcuations of the Severian covered gallery (*Fig. XXII*), which were erected, here and there, upon preexisting substructions and portions of road thus transformed into subterraneous places, the destination of which is not easily recognisable. Rooms still almost entirely buried, falling stairs, walls supporting halls still maintaining, here and there, in the artistical

compartment of the vault, stuccoes and smoky gilt friezes. Wings and portions of more ancient buildings, perhaps of the period of Hadrian, were destroyed or disappeared under the Severian arcuations. It happened here as happened to the remains of the half-destroyed *Domus Aurea* near the Coliseum. Upon this *domus* Apollodorus of Damascus built his magnificent and enormous *thermae* by order of the emperor Trajan; thus the characteristic paintings of the first century were buried, which, later on, will be discovered and studied by Raffaello Sanzio and Giovanni da Udine and from which the inspiration to decorate the Vatican Lodges will be derived.

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* * *

From behind the Stadium, through a narrow lane, we descend into a row of rooms of different shape and size preceded by modern pillars by Canina (*Fig. XXIII*), with a granite column, many fragments of architectural ornamentations here disco-

vered during the excavations made from 1845 to 1892; fragments belonging, perhaps, to upper floors of buildings which are supposed to have covered, on this side, all the declivity of the hill.

We are on the area of a Roman house of the atrium of which until now has been brought to light only one side, a portion of the other one near, and the granite column standing among the famous pillars by Canina.

According to Suetonius (*Cal.* 18), there was on the Palatine the private house of a certain Gelotius, the *domus Gelotiana*, later on bought and incorporated into the imperial buildings. It was, certainly, on the side looking towards the Circus Maximus; Suetonius, in fact, in his narrative says that, one day, the emperor Caligula was observing the preparatives made in the underlying Circus. Some idle fellows sitting on the flights of steps, having begged for the beginning of the games, the Emperor consented and ordered that the spectacle should immediately take place:... *commisit et subito [ludos] cum e Gelotiana appara-*

tum Circi prospicientem pauci ex proximis moenianis postulassent.

From the narration of the historian, then, and from the situation of the building where we are now, it has been inferred that these ruins are those of the *domus Gelotiana*.

* * *

But the importance to us of these ruins is especially derived from the considerable number of *graffiti* discovered among them. The names of many personages are legible on the walls of the rooms. Some names are followed by the word *verna*, i. e., a slave who was born in the family of his master; others by the word *peregrinus*, - a person belonging to the strange corporation of the *peregrini* who are supposed to have inhabited the Caelius near *S. Maria in Domnica* or "della Navicella". And lastly, other names are accompanied by the words: *exit de paedagogio*, with an evident allusion to the *Paedagogium*, - or training-school for court-pages -, which was also on the Caelius, *ad Caput Africae*, the present Via

Capo d'Africa. There are also many souvenirs of veterans, such as the graffito scratched by a certain "Hilarus" upon the lower wall, near the entrance: *Hilarus, mi[les] v[eteranus] d[omini] n[ostrum]*, "Hilarus, veteran soldier of the Emperor".



An ingenious, though ghastly pun, has been discovered by Marucchi (*Guide du Palatin*, ecc). in a large inscription on the wall behind the pillars, and, apparently it is to be referred to the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (192-217 A. D.).

An admirer of the Caesars, a soldier, perhaps, had, at first, scratched on the wall, with capital letters: *Genius duorum[?] dominorum nostrorum*. But the scribbling was later on corrected by another writer of a quite different opinion, who changed some letters and added others. The word *genius* became *corpus* and interposed to it, with smaller letters it was scratched the word *corvis*. Thus the phrase which meant before: "the [protecting] genius of our two

[emperors] and masters " acquired, after the... correction, a not too happy meaning: "May the body of our two [Emperors] and masters *become the fodder of the ravens*".

And like an echo of the tardy disillusion of some unknown, another graffito, - which



Fig. XXIV — The "graffito" of Asellus (from a drawing by Ulivi).

was destroyed in 1886 (*Fig. XXIV*), by a superlatively idiotic tourist, - was still visible until a few years ago. The drawing represented a donkey turning the mill, and below it there was this witty explanation: *Labora, aselle, quomodo ego laboravi et proderit tibi* - «Work, my poor little donkey,

as I have worked too, and thou shalt be rewarded for it! Did the anonymous lament the small generosity with which his long services had been rewarded? or did the inscription apostrophise a poor and unknown drudge to whom the colleagues gave the scoffing name of *asellus* "little donkey?" It has been supposed also that it may have been a sneer addressed to a Christian, because of the custom introduced among the proselytes of the new religion by which they assumed, in their humility, similar names. It is also known that the name of *asellus*, *asinus*, was given to the slaves employed in the hard work of the mills.

*
* *

But the most interesting and celebrated graffito is the one discovered in 1857 in the little room to the right of the central exhedra (*Fig. XXV*).

It represents our Lord Jesus Christ with the head of a donkey and dressed, as it seems, in an *interula*, a kind of shirt; his legs are covered by cloths called *fasciae*

crurales. To the left of the cross there is the figure of a Christian, the youth Alexámenos.¹ The whole vignette is explained by the greek legend: *Alexámenos sébete* [instead of *sébetai*] *Théon*, "Alexámenos is worshipping [his] God".

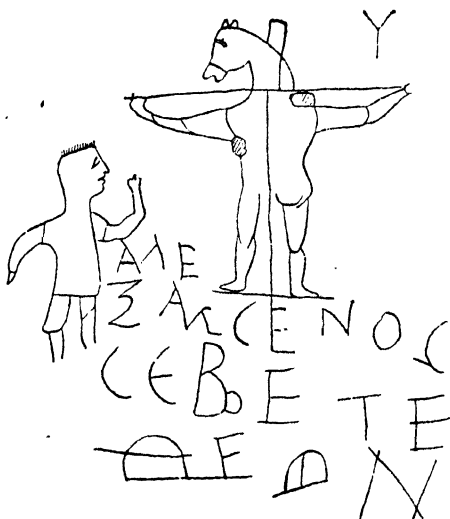


Fig. XXV. — The caricature of our Lord J. Christ
(from a drawing by Ulivi).

Since its discovery, great scientists like R. Garrucci and G. B. de Rossi recognised in the graffito a blasphemous caricature of our Lord. Tertullianus, who derides the Gentiles because they ignore even the true

name of Christ, confutes the stupid accusation hurled by them against the Christians of worshipping the head of a donkey: *Somniastis caput asininum esse Deum nostrum* (*Ad. Nat.* I, 11); and the fearless apologist attributed to the historian Tacitus (*Apol.* 16) the opinion which contributed to the divulcation of the ridiculous prejudice related by Felix Minucius (*Oct.* 9) and others; hence the name of *asinarii* given by the heathens to the Christians.

Alexámenos himself answered the rough caricature: in a small room near by, below another *graffito* of doubtful interpretation, we can see the legend: *Alexamenos fidelis*. And it has been observed that the denomination of “*fidelis*” which Alexámenos attributed to himself in its meaning, is worthy of a Christian.

But this first opinion on the blasphemous caricature of our Lord had its opposers, and it excited several polemics. A Viennese professor, G. Haupt, of the “Imperial and Royal Court Library” recognised in the Crucifix, the evil egyptian divinity Seth, i. e., the Typhoëns of the Græcians. It was objected against this strange interpretation, that if Typhoëns has been represented, sometimes, with the head of a donkey, he has been never tied to the cross. Prof. Wünsch, together with Haupt, did not accept the common opinion and confirmed that Alexámenos was a youth inscribed to the sect of the “Sethians” or worshippers of the God Seth; and they desumed it from the letter “Y” scratched on the right of the Crucifix; a letter which has been found also upon some tablets of the worship of that God.

After the confutations of the most learned Professor

of Strasburgh, F. S. Kraus and of others, the opinion of Garrucci and de Rossi has been generally accepted, and every one recognises in the *graffito* of the *domus Gelotiana*, a blasphemous caricature of our Lord.

Moreover, according to Tertullianus, Christianity, which in the time of Nero had almost reached the throne, in the IIIrd century, – epoch to which the *graffito* seems to belong, – had very numerous proselytes everywhere. We need not to be surprised, then, if we find, also on the Palatine an echo of the vulgar derision of the heathens against the poor and calumniated Christian or *asinarii*.

We inform the reader, lastly, that the *graffito* of Alexámenos, formerly to be seen in the ancient Museo Kircheriano al Collegio Romano, has been recently brought into the Museo Nazionale delle Terme.

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* *

The *domus* of which the remains we have now visited, is still almost completely buried, and it is supposed to have reached the flights of steps round the Circus. Others suppose that the true *domus Gelotiana* is to be recognised in another building near, only partially uncovered, in the vineyard belonging, formerly, to the Loreti Family. In fact therein were disco-

vered, recently, some rooms with paintings representing the *dapiferi* or "servants" in the act of serving a banquet. But it is still unknown whether these two groups of ruins belong to one or to two separate buildings. We conclude that in the upper building which was the object of genial and classical studies of Visconti, de Rossi, Garucci and many others, there must have been established a detached post or "corp de garde" to the custody of whom it was entrusted, perhaps, at this side, as a secondary entrance to the imperial palace. We think it may possibly be also an *excubitorium* connected, for reasons of order or safety, with an institute into which the young pupils of the *Paedagogium* on the Caelius came to complete their military instruction before serving near the person of the Cæsar.

In this neighbourhood certainly are the remains of a building recorded by Vopiscus (*Carinus* 19). The emperors Carinus and Numerianus (282-284 A. D.) offered the people some games which, for their novelty, as the historian relates, "had been

painted upon the walls of the portico of the *stabulum* in the Palatine" ...*ludos populo Romano novis ornatos spectaculis dederunt, quos in Palatio circa porticum stabuli pictos vidimus*. It was, perhaps, a *stabulum* of the factions of the Circus, probably situated in this side, at the foot of the Palatine.



Out of the domus and to the right, some remarkable remains of walls constructed with large blocks of tufa recall the primitive fortifications of the Palatine city. Similar remains we shall also find approaching the church of St. Theodore which made the starting-point of our excursion among the ruins of the Palatine.

Here also, earth, heaps of stones and vegetation are still covering unexplored remains of ancient imperial dwellings and adjacent monuments.

To our right, in the midst of brick constructions, intermixed with more ancient remains in local tufa, a hard path leads up

to one of the archaic gates of the Palatine Rome. The archæologists, not knowing its ancient name, agreed to call it "Porta del Velabro" or of the "Lupercal" (gate of the Velabrum or of the Lupercal). The path rises to the *area Palatina* which we have already spoken of.

The *clivus* leading there, as we have already said, was called by Plutarch (*Rom.* 20) the "Ascent of the Beautiful Steep Place" (*Gradus pulchri litoris*, Solin. *Polyhist.* I, 18). Here was, then, the already mentioned *scala Caci*, so called by the name of the legendary robber Cacus who was killed in this neighbourhood by the demi-god Hercules. And not far the *Ara Maxima*, or Greatest Altar, is supposed to have been here dedicated to Hercules by Evander to commemorate the hero's generous action (Liv. I, 4; Virgil. *Aen.* VIII, 185 sqq.; Ovid. *Fast.* I, 545 sqq.). Others, on the contrary, derived this denomination from a certain *Cacius* or *Caccus* inscribed to the most ancient *conlegium* of the *Potitii*, to whom, together with the *Pinarii* (being these two the families of most dis-

inction then living in this region) it was entrusted the observance of the Argive hero's worship (Liv. I, 4).

XIX.

*The Lupercal - Faun and the month of "February" - The "Lupercalia," Cæsar, the Christianity and the poet A. Prudentius Clemens - A historical simulacre of the "Romulean she-wolf" - The Lupercal, St. Theodore and the feast of the nurses - The altar of C. Sestius Calvinus - The ancient Gods and the law of the *arcunum* - A supposed Lupercal and a doubtful grave of Acca Larentia - Myths and Legends - The DEA ROMA.*

To the left of the much discussed church of St. Anastasia, with whom, according to a whimsical legend, the name of the celebrated dalmatian exegete, - St. Jerome, - is to be connected, are hidden, perhaps, the remains of the atrium of the Lupercal or grotto sacred to the Faun Lupercus, the licentious worship of whom accompanied the history of the city, synthetised its origin, and survived untill the last years of the vth century.

Its origin was connected with the wonderful beginnings of the life of the founders of Rome; and near the grotto of Faun Lupercus there was, in fact, the "fig-tree Ruminalis" under which Faustulus miraculously found the twins whilst a she-wolf, with her teats, was giving them suck. But in the legendary "she-wolf" was recognised, later on, Faustulus' wife who, having been too free with her favours had got the name of "lupa" (shewolf) among the shepherds.

But also another version was given of the Romulean legend. The Sylvan God *Faunus* (so called, perhaps, from *favere* "to be good, generous") was together with *Pales* the protector of the flocks and he was venerated also under the name of *Lupercus* for he was supposed to protect them from the assault of the wolves. And thus it was supposed that the God protected the twin infants committed to the banks of the Tiber from the famishing she-wolf. Whence the "Lupercalia" or feast to his honor instituted by Remus and Romulus on February 15. In the feasts, called also *februalia*, from *februare* "to purify" expiation sacrifices were also celebrated; and it was called *dies februatus* the day of the recurrence; *februum* the goat-skin dressed by the *Luperci*, the priests of the worship, and *februarius* the month which was, then, the last of the year. On February 15, after sacrifices and ritual libations the *Luperci* touched the forehead of two youths with the sword still hot from the blood of the victims, and wasted it with bits of wool wetted with milk. Then the *Luperci*, only covered by the *februum*, rushed from the grotto and the

wood of the God Lupercus, and passing through the streets of the city they hit with their goat-skin whips the young brides who went to meet them spontaneously hoping to propitiate the God and obtain a numerous offspring and true domestic happiness (Ovid. *Fast.* II, 267 sgg.; Plut. *Rom.* 21).

During one of these feasts, M. Antony tried to put the royal diadem upon the head of Julius Cæsar who was assisting at the spectacle. Cæsar, seeing the indignation raised by this act, promptly refused the diadem and consecrated it to Jupiter Capitolinus. This little farce, naturally, had been organized previously. The Sibylline books, in fact, had predicted that *only a King* could have conquered the Parthians. And Cæsar, in that time was preparing a military expedition against... the Parthians; expedition which did not take place because of his murder (Suet. *Caes.* 79; Cass. Dio. *Hist.* XLIV. 11; Plut. *Caes.* 61; Vell. Pat. II, 56 ecc.).

After this event the *Lupercalia* were no longer used; but they were later on recommenced, together with other feasts, by the pontiff Cæsar Octavianus (Suet. *Oct.* 31).

* * *

The worship of Lupercus survived, longer than any other, the triumph of Christianity over the old State religion, and the reason is that it was connected with the memory of the first origin of the city. Neither imperial laws nor protestations of believers and bishops were able

Fig. XXVI.

(From a photo by Mosconi).



Altar of Calvinus.

to condemn it definitively; and the poet Prudentius, in the IVth century (*In s. Romanum mart.*), favouring the christian opinion held against the indecent ceremony, wrote the following verses :

*Quid illa turpis pompa? nempe ignobiles
Vos esse monstrat cum Luperi curritis.
Quem servulorum non rear vilissimum
Nudus plateas si per omnes cursilans
Pulset puellas verberare [ictas] actas ludicro?*

But the worship of the *Lupercalia* lasted beyond the empyre of Antemius. It is made mention of them in 466 A. D. and they did not cease until the end of the Vth century.

To commemorate the founders of the city, in 297 B. C. the *Ædiles* Gnæus and Quintus placed in the *Lupercal* a bronze simulacre of the she-wolf with the twin infants, the same, perhaps, which Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Cicero make mention of; ... *ad ficum Ruminalem simulacra infantium conditorum Urbis sub uberibus lupae* (Liv. X, 16). The bronze she-wolf seen by Dionysius seemed to the Græcian historian of most ancient work; and some identify it, now-a-days, with the one existing in the Museo Capitolino and erroneously supposed to have been found in the xv century in the neighbourhood of the Velabrum.

The simulacre of the Capitoline she-wolf, on the contrary, since the Middle-Ages, was fixed, upon a basement outside a tower of the palazzo Lateranense, before the seat of the *iudices palatini*, and the diarists Infessura, Paolo dello Mastro and Paolo Petroni relate that below

that ancient and glorious symbol have been nailed the truncated hands of vulgar evil-doers. And the torture of the robbers of the "tesoro Lateranense" (the treasury of the Lateran) was not the first and last atrocious scene witnessed by the old roman simulacre. At the time of Sixtus the Fourth the bronze she-wolf was carried into the Capitol and it is supposed to have been restored by Guglielmo della Porta. The statuettes of the twin infants, which no longer existed at that time, according to a recent opinion have been made, - on the contrary, - by Pollaiuolo (Ph. Lauer, *Le palais du Latran*, p. 23, 131; Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* 139, n. 139 n. 66).

Was the Capitoline she-wolf brought from the Lupercal into the Lateran when it was thought to put an end to the pagan rites and superstitions still surviving among the customs of the common people? Or is it one of the so many simulacres of the Romulean she-wolf recorded by Dionysius (*Arch.*, I, 32, 79, 82), a copy, perhaps of the one put in the Lupercal by Gnæus and Quintus? For the present the problem has no probability of solution; but the second hypothesis seems to be more obvious than the first.

The memory of the offerings brought by ancient mothers to the Lupercal to obtain the recovery of their sick children, is to be recognised in the prayers and in the ex-votoes offered by the Roman women to St. Theodore, the popular "San Toto"; and also the ...nurses, in the later Middle-Ages, flocked into this church: they, not knowing the strange transformation endured by the

worship of Faun Lupercus, considered the Saint as their protector.

And so the oriental martyr, the eponymous of the Palatine Church of Leo the Third, was substituted in the popular mind, by the worship of the sylvan god, the saviour of Romulus and Remus and protector of the Roman children; likewise St. Sebastian and St. George took the place of the mythical Dioscuri in the protection of the militiamen.



In this corner of the Palatine, towards the Velabrum, there is an *ara* or altar in travertin of an archaic shape discovered in this neighbourhood about 1820, upon which there is a half-destroyed legend with characters of the last century of the Republic: SEI·DEO·SEI·DEIVAE·SAC·| C·SEXTIUS·C·F·CALVINVS·PR·| DE·SENATI·SENTENTIA·RESTITVIT (*Fig. XXVI*).

The altar, then, by order of the Senate, was reconstructed by the "praetor Caius Sextius Calvinus son of Caius" to substitute another altar also dedicated to an unknown divinity of which even the sex was ignored.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus makes mention of a little wood sacred to Pan, - another personification of Faun Lupercus, - which is supposed to have been in the neighbourhood of the grotto of the Lupercal, and to have adorned, perhaps, the entrance to it. The altar, then, may have been consecrated to the "topical Genius", i. e., to the protector of the spot and of the wood: in short, to one of the numberless inferior divinities of the heathenish worship. Mysterious divinities of unknown name and sex supposed to be intuitively perceived, by the religious spirits of the age, in the silence of the woods, in the grottoes, near the springs and on the hills.

But sometimes they avoided naming these divinities on public monuments or before profane persons because, - though their divine attributes were well known, - the priests of their cult feared that their enemies, invoking these divinities by name and honouring them with sacrifices, were able to *revoke*, or, rather, to divert them from the protection of the spot entrusted to their custody. And on the subject of this super-

stition and not too flattering opinion the ancients had of the uncertain protection of the gods of the Olympus, we shall remember the inscription which, according to Servius, was legible upon the shield consecrated on the Capitol to the "Protecting Genius of Rome, whatever is his sex" - *Genio urbis Romae sive mas sive femina*.

Mommsen and few others supposed that this altar, consecrated to an unknown *Genius loci*, was the one dedicated to *Aius Locutius* o *Loquens*, the mysterious God who in 390 B. C. in the depth of night informed M. Cedicius and the Romans that the Gauls were approaching. The mysterious voice, which was not listened to then, after the slaughter of Rome and the departure of the invaders, was "expiated": that is to say a little chapel with an altar was erected to the beneficent god who was worshipped by sacrifices under the name of *Aius Locutius* or "God of the Word" (Varr. A. Gell., *Noct. Att.* XVI, 17; Liv. V, 50; Cic. *Div.* I, 45; II, 32; Plut. *Cam.* 14 sq. 30).

But the supposition of Mommsen is not

to be accepted because on the *ara* of Aius Locutius might have been readable the name of the divinity to whom it was vowed, this name having come down to posterity.

The prætor who, by order of the Senate, rebuilt the altar of the unknown "*Genius loci*" of the Palatine, seems to have been the same C. Sextius Calvinus who in the year 100 B. C. was the adversary of the famous Caius Servilius Glaucia, the cunning and perfidious friend of Saturninus and Marius by whom, later on, they were both abandoned to their tragical fate.



On this spot there stood formerly, the mutilated bust of the abbé Bianchini which was later on placed, like the simulacre of a poor arcadian, amidst the incultivated vegetation of the Viale Palatino. Now-a-days the effigy of the discussed archæologist has disappeared. What destiny is waiting for it?

Below, among the houses, we see the

arch of Janus Quadrifrons, a real marble gallery over a cross-road of the *Velabrum*; the arch "degli orefici" (of the goldsmiths) erected by the *argentarii* or money changers to the honour of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta, and the church of St. Giorgio in Velabro, or *ad Velum Aureum*, - as it was called in the Middle-Ages, - with which, as we have already said, is connected a strange episode of the revolution which broke out in Rome to the time of Cola di Rienzo (1313-1354).

To the right, along the slope of the hill, the remains of the ancient city walls, show us the fortified line of the regal period. In a corner there is an access with shutters of iron bars leading into one of the crevices of the hill which some, - according to the virgilian *gelida sub rupe Lupercal*, - supposed to be the Lupercal itself. There is no doubt that the "cold grotto of Lupercus" was in a split of the hill; but, as Marucchi justly observes, it might have been situated on the line of the other Romulean memories which were venerated on the top of the hill, near the temple of

Cybele. And almost certainly it is, at present, to be found under the church of St. Anastasia or under the ruins and the constructions which, during so many centuries, invaded and transformed the place.

Near these remains *in opus quadratum* there in an archaic sarcophagus which has been recomposed with original fragments and restorations, and to which, - by the imagination of a few persons, - was given the name of "grave of Acca Larentia".



Very picturesque and worthy of the brush of Poussin is this last outskirts of the Palatine. Constructions *in opus quadratum* buried by others different in age and material. Here and there we see the bare rock of the hill in its peculiar grey-yellowish colour amidst luxuriant vegetation which evokes the souvenirs of virgilian descriptions. Above, the terrace of the Farnese gardens which overlook all this side.

Who does not think again of the Argive hero, of Hercules guest of Evander? Of the fugitive Aenea so heartily received by the Arcadian king into the small and solitary city which is supposed to have been on the sacred hill long before Rome? Evander was revered by ancients as the inventor of letters and for having taught the uncouth inhabitants music and agriculture; Evander established the worship of Ceres, of Neptune Consus, of Lycæan Pan or Faun Inus, of Hercules; Evander was a great helper of civilization and he was worshipped as a *deus indiges*; to him, to his mother Carmenta, classic Rome gave its worship as to a protecting genius who prepared and almost consecrated the lonely hill like a symbol of the future destinies of the Eternal City.

In the virgilian legend his son Pallas is killed by Turnus in the struggle of this latter against Aenea for the beautiful Lavinia (*Aen.* VIII, X, XI). From a descendant of the family of Aenea, Romulus and Remus will be born, sons of a furtive embrace of a God, of Mars. They will inhabit

the seat of the mythical ally of their maternal grand father. The predictions of Carmenta come true: the prophetic cry of Tarquinius echoes to her, across the Palatine, the destinies of Rome are about to be accomplished and the wonderful and poetical fable seems to acquire the consistency of history.

These are the thoughts, these the souvenirs which accompany the visitor when leaving the hill which saw the poor cottages arising of the sacred village which was to become "Rome"; of the Eternal City which, having risen to divine splendour in the politico-religious mind of the Imperial Era, had to be worshipped with sacrifice and incense by the numberless races enjoying peace and civilization assured to them by the "Urbs", the ruling Goddess; the *sacra romana Pax* of old Pliny.

